

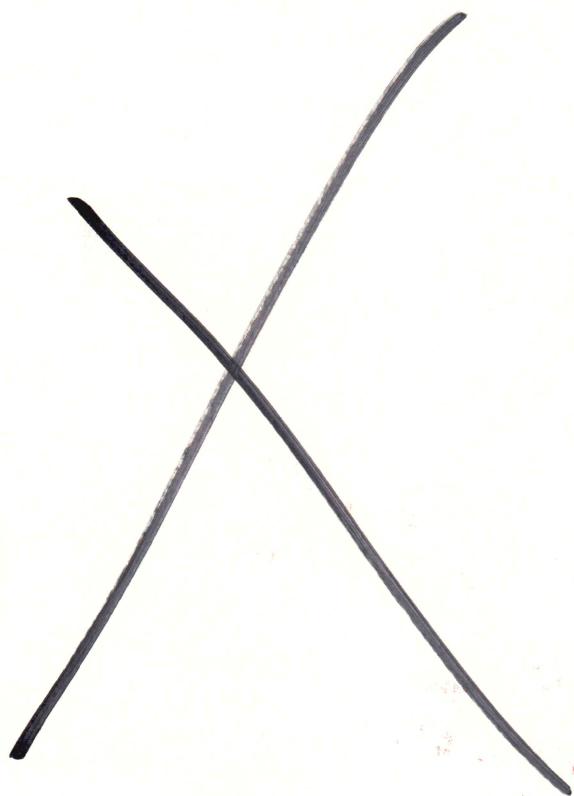
"KANGAROO COURT"

VERSUS

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY



by A. J. MacDONALD



KANGAROO COURT

versus

THE JOHN BIRCH

SOCIETY

by

A. J. MacDONALD

1963

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CHAPTER 1

"IF THIS BE TREASON!"

WE BELIEVE THAT THE REASON THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY HAS ATTRACTED SO MANY MEMBERS IS THAT IT SIMPLY APPEARED TO THEM TO BE THE MOST EFFECTIVE, INDEED THE ONLY, ORGANIZATION THROUGH WHICH THEY COULD JOIN IN A NATIONAL MOVEMENT TO LEARN THE TRUTH ABOUT THE COMMUNIST MENACE, AND THEN TAKE SOME POSITIVE CONCERTED ACTION TO PREVENT ITS SPREAD.

OUR INVESTIGATION AND STUDY WAS REQUESTED BY THE SOCIETY, WHICH HAD BEEN PUBLICLY CHARGED WITH BEING A SECRET, FASCIST, SUBVERSIVE, UN-AMERICAN, ANTI-SEMITIC ORGANIZATION. WE HAVE NOT FOUND ANY OF THESE ACCUSATIONS TO BE SUPPORTED BY EVIDENCE.

Conclusion of report on an investigation of the John Birch Society by the
California Senate Factfinding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities.

June, 1963

Senator Hugh M. Burns, Chairman

INSTEAD OF A FOREWORD

Edward Hunter, one of America's leading experts on the techniques of communist 'brain-washing', testified before the United States Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, July 11, 1961 as follows:

"Never, since the most virulent days of Goebbel's 'hate' propaganda, has anything appeared in the United States comparable to a 47-page booklet, dated June 1961, put out by the Communist Party of the United States in connection with its drive to smother the expanding anti-Communist movement in this country.

"The 35-cent booklet is entitled *THE FASCIST REVIVAL*, and purports to tell 'the inside story of the John Birch Society.' The author is Mike Newberry, another WORKER specialist in unbridled smear.

"The booklet is evidence of the degree to which the Communist Party considers itself immune from libel, through a complex legal barrier it has built around itself, and by the exploitation of the double standard. Communists have created an atmosphere in which those victimized by its lies feel it is futile to seek recompense.

"The virulent tone of the booklet, with all stops out in vituperative propaganda, indicates that the Communist Party would like to create a new, Pavlovian trigger word for this period in its psychological warfare, and believes 'Birchite' might be put into the language this way, replacing McCarthyite. The impact of the latter fabricated word apparently no longer is strong enough to meet red needs. Communist deeds have deprived it of its effectiveness in Red 'spywar.'

"The Communists now seek to create a new scare word. This would evoke a conditioned response in a background of fear, founded on the specter of a fascist plot inside the United States, which would attack all minorities, and spread terror to everyone. This Red propaganda objective is a terror maneuver. It would be what they call the 'correct' line for this time, to make the American public jittery through pressure from abroad, by manufactured crimes in places such as Berlin and Laos, and by pressure at home through visions of a 'fascist revival.' A jittery United States would be off balance and vulnerable."

WHAT GOES ON BEHIND THE BALLOT BOX?

During the last twenty years this writer has spent most of his working life in the field of politics as a political organizer, as a fund raiser, or as a consultant to many major candidates across this country, including the President of the United States.

I have watched the malicious, cunning, and cruel attacks of politicians leave their scars on their opponents. I have watched the happiness or sadness of the people in the campaigns the morning after it was over. I have watched the selfish attitudes of politicians across this nation take their toll on religious societies of this nation.

For twenty years, I have watched the diabolical, cunning plan of the international Communist conspiracy, operating either openly or undercover on the political arena in the United States for the purpose of a take-over.

But never in my political career have I ever witnessed anything comparable with the blood bath of invective, distortion and propaganda heaped on the John Birch Society of the United States during the past three years.

Whenever something like this happens in the political world, it makes the professionals sit up quick, blink at least once, and give thought to what has happened. They know, as I know, that only a well-organized, well-disciplined and well-financed organization, with pipe-lines into all our media of communication, and with thousands of conscious (and even more non-conscious) members in the United States could do that kind of a job; could do it so fast and so effectively. Every bit of evidence pointed to the international Communist conspiracy — and its American agents and co-workers.

I, for one, blinked more than once and was forced to open my eyes wide. As soon as I realized what was happening and recovered from the shock, I knew that I must take some action. Not to defend the John Birch Society, for I am not a member of that organization, nor do I necessarily agree with all its purposes or acts.

What deeply disturbed me was the degree to which otherwise responsible people — businessmen, educators, public officials, editors, writers and commentators, as well as members of the clergy — became the unwitting tools of this master smear and brainwashing technique of the Communists. I saw brave men and women, whose records as devout and law abiding citizens were beyond reproach, labeled, not merely as "extremists", and "ultra-reactionaries" but as "fascist minded", "nazi minded", and "even worse than the communists", accused of seeking to stir up race against race, group against group, religion against religion. The hate campaign against the members of the John Birch Society engulfed the nation as thick as a Los Angeles smog — but far more deadly. (No wonder there wasn't time to keep a close eye on Khrushchev's missile build-up in Cuba.)

In trying to defend themselves and retaliate against this type of mental blood-bath, Birch members made sincere efforts to hit back, as every red blooded American would do. I watched them as they came back from the propaganda front reeling from the attack of the Communist conspiracy.

The thing that disturbed me the most is that I didn't see the somewhat batty "little old ladies in sneakers" as the Attorney General in the State of California described them. What I did see were generals of the Army, admirals of the Navy, industrialists and businessmen who had built this nation — Democrats and Republicans alike — many with silver-grey hair that only time and wisdom could place there. With faces pale, and hearts broken, they found themselves classed with the Ku-Klux Klan, the Nazi Bund, and other sordid organizations.

As I stated before, I am not going to defend the John Birch Society, its purposes or organizational method. That is its job — not mine. But I am going to attack the army of international Communist conspirators together with the radicals, psuedo liberals and prostituted intellectuals who joined forces in the most gigantic witch-hunt of modern times.

If such a well-financed, well-organized and blood-thirsty attack is permitted to go unchallenged (and I have seen no evidence that the otherwise so vocal bleeding-hearts are doing anything about it) then I ask:

When will this army of political cut-throats be called to the colors again? Against what organizations, what programs, what personalities will they launch their next attack? Will it be the American Legion — already much maligned? Will it be the Knights of Columbus or the Masons? Will it be some independently minded organization of farmers, professional people or labor? Will it be a religious group? Shall we permit those who prefer the world of Moscow, Peking and Havana to tear us asunder; to cause us to denounce and hold suspect every fellow American with whom we disagree! Shall we be chopped to pieces by the very devices meant to serve and strengthen American freedom! If members of the John Birch Society are to be denied the right to be heard at the bar of public opinion — how long before those rights will be denied to you and to me!

NAILING DOWN THE CHARGES

"The powerful right-wing groups, such as the John Birch Society, threaten to pinch out cultural buds in their puritanical campaigns and Communist witch-hunts", wrote Anthony Brown, in the December 16th, 1962 *London Times* Sunday magazine section. The feature article, titled "California, The Tarnished Paradise," went on to state "To John Birch hot gospellers 'nudity is sin'."

"To them, any degree of non-conformity amounts to Communism. Their illiberal attitudes have penetrated the schools, the churches, the guilds, almost every aspect of community life, imposing a degree of conformism not so very different from that expected of a writer or musician in the Soviet Union."

Who Anthony Brown is I do not know. But I do know that these ridiculous and libelous charges against both Birchers and Californians as a whole were printed in England's leading "conservative" daily paper, and must have been read and accepted as truthful by hundreds of thousands of its readers.

Where did Mr. Brown get his "facts"? What authorities did he consult?

Perhaps he spoke with Dr. Louis Finkelstein, chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary and a self-admitted expert on ethics. Dr. Finkelstein is quoted in the Los Angeles Times of January 12, 1963 as saying that the defilement of man is a great social danger of which such organizations as the John Birch Society are guilty.

"The John Birch Society's desire to impeach Chief Justice Warren for the effort of the Supreme Court to bring about the equalization of white and Negro, and the defense of the underprivileged, *is a greater danger to our nation than either the Russians or the Chinese.* The Birchers seek to break down our morals and standards, whereas, at best, our competitors across the ocean threaten our bodies which we are equipped to defend."

If we take Dr. Finkelstein at his word, then the \$40 to \$50 billion dollars we have been spending annually to defend ourselves against the military might of the Communist world has been largely wasted. The real menace is "the enemy within — the Birchers". These could all be wiped for a fraction of that outlay — and the job would evidently no more upset the good doctor's ethics then did the gas chambers of Dachau and Buchenwald upset Hitler's.

But where did Dr. Finkelstein get his information about the John Birch Society?

Perhaps he had read or heard Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown of California in one of his oft repeated pronouncements on the Birchers. For example:

"The American who is a true anti-communist will recognize the John Birchers as false prophets. They are no more loyal to the

Constitution than the Communists they profess to despise. And they use the same techniques." (L.A. Times, Oct. 17, 1962)

"Governor Brown said Monday night that the advocacy of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren's impeachment by the John Birch Society is 'subversion of the worst kind.'" (L.A. Times, Oct. 16, 1962)

In the same San Diego speech, quoted above, the Governor said the John Birch Society "is a secret organization that doesn't believe in democracy and is afraid of the rule of the majority." (L.A. Times, Oct. 17, 1962)

Or he may have read what Governor Brown told the Board of Rabbis of Southern California:

That he considers the John Birch Society "almost as dangerous to our country as communism . . . these people can be dangerous — they're infiltrating school boards and city councils, and it frightens me when I see what these people do." (L.A. Times, May 17, 1962)

Perhaps he relied on the statement made by Assemblyman Gordon H. Winton, Jr., Democrat of Merced, California:

"The society may be more dangerous than communism because it looks either toward anarchy or fascism in the United States, but I'm not sure which." The danger is "even more pressing", added Winton, because the Birchers are "cloaked with an aura of respectability." (L.A. Times, Mar. 23, 1961)

The London Times correspondent could have had his pick of statements from Governors, Senators, and Congressmen, not to mention the host of newspaper columnists or television and radio commentators. Senator Young (Republican of North Dakota) said "I assert the John Birch Society is a fascist group." Governor Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin added a new note by suggesting that the real goal of the John Birch Society "is far less to combat the pathetic remnants of the Communist Party than it is to emasculate progressive legislation."

A California State Bar Convention was urged to "recognize the Society for what it is — a conspiratorial group devoted to the big lie and the big smear."

The members of the Birch society were variously described as "fanatics", "fear-ridden", "sinister", and "just a goose step away from the goon squads" to cite but a handful of the epithets hurled at them.

The Communist propaganda machine is one of the oldest, largest, smoothest, best organized, best financed organizations in the world. Every time a movement (or a personality) has appeared which seemed a real threat to communism, all stops were pulled, and no holds were barred to attack and discredit the enemy. The record is one and the same — and the tactics identical, whether the battle

be fought in Great Britain, France, Italy, Canada or the United States.

Here was an organization — a militant organization — dedicated to uprooting not alone the communists in our midst, but all those in public office, or in positions of trust or leadership anywhere, who were stooging for them. This meant that a great many toes were being stepped on. It meant that persons in high places found their speeches and writings condoning or supporting pro-communist organizations and activities under critical scrutiny and open attack.

Those who looked with favor upon the use of pressure tactics by labor unions cried “unfair” when the Birch Society members used pressure against those they believed to be too soft on Communism.

It meant that politicians — who viewed the Americans for Democratic Action as quite proper in seeking to shape the policies of the Democratic Party to its left-wing position — howled with rage and anger that the Birchers sought to use their influence to turn our major political parties more to the right.

It meant that there was too much activity at the grass roots level; too many parents pestering school boards and city councils; too many citizens writing letters to editors about columnists they didn't like; too many ardent people going to too many public meetings, asking too many questions, and taking down too many notes.

So the John Birch Society had to be stopped, its leadership discredited, its members confused and demoralized, its organization wrecked.

In the face of this attack many Birchers undoubtedly said and did things which they would not otherwise have said or done. Most of them were well known and respected in their own communities — but suddenly they saw themselves as in a distorted mirror. Their words came back twisted with new meanings. Their actions were misinterpreted. They were being linked with the very forces they had set out to fight.

It was all very confusing. Friends asked them to quiet down, to resign, to repudiate the Birch organization. And some did. But most of them hung on. They learned through their mistakes. And they also learned that the anti-Birch propaganda finally was losing its effectiveness. It had been over-done and over-sold.

The major enemy remained the same — but many a writer, many a commentator was having second thoughts about what he had said and written. Maybe the Birchers weren't all bad. Maybe they weren't all crackpots or conspirators. Maybe there was an internal as well as an external communist threat that needed to be met.

WHAT IS — WHO IS — SUBVERSIVE?

The verb “subvert”, according to all major dictionaries, has three basic meanings:

- 1) To overthrow from the foundation
- 2) To pervert or corrupt a person by undermining his morals, allegiance, or faith,
- 3) To render futile, void, inoperative, or the like. as, to *subvert* the principles of religion, the constitution, or the government.

In 1943, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, after lengthy deliberation, came up with the following definition of “subversive activity” which has been quite generally accepted since then:

“Subversive activity derives from the conduct *intentionally* destructive of or inimical to the Government of the United States — that which seeks to undermine its institutions, or to distort its functions, or to impede its projects, or to lessen its efforts, *the ultimate end being to overturn it all.*”

On April 12, 1962, The House of Representatives (with concurrence of the Senate) passed a resolution ordering the printing of a “Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications” which had been prepared by its Committee on Un-American Activities.

In this document are listed all organizations and publications, cited by Federal or State authorities, including United States Attorneys General, with being either Communist, Communist-front, Fascist, or otherwise extremist in character.

Twenty-three “totalitarian” organizations, Japanese in origin, and dating from World War II days were listed. An additional 22 organizations, mostly of Italian or German origin were listed as “fascist”. Nine more organizations (most of them Ku-Klux Klan in character) were listed because they had “adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force and violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States.”

Finally, there were a total of 663 *organizations or projects and 122 publications cited as Communist or Communist Front by Federal Agencies, plus an additional 155 organizations and 25 publications cited as Communist or Communist front by State or Territorial investigating committees.*

During the past three years we have heard the John Birch Society and its members denounced as “subversive” and “treasonable” by editors, writers, TV and radio commentators, politicians, clergymen, etc. The average citizen, quite naturally, concludes that there must be some truth to these charges.

But is there?

The purposes of the John Birch Society, as stated in its printed

material, and repeated over and over again by its leadership. is to educate its members in the evil ways of the atheistic, criminal conspiracy. Furthermore, the Society continues to point out how this evil force is infiltrating and subverting all which we hold dear to our very existence in a *free* United States of America.

It does not propose to seize or overthrow our government.

It does not propose the use of force or extra-legal methods to achieve its aims.

It does not seek to undermine our confidence or faith, either in our religion, our morals, our tradition, or our Constitution. Quite to the contrary.

Many people disagree strongly with the *way* in which the Society operates. They object to the personalized control exercised by Mr. Robert Welch as well as to many of his statements. They object to the *drive* and *pressure* brought upon politicians, school board officials, clergymen, do-gooders, etc. by the eager-beaver members of the John Birch Society. They object to labeling so many causes, organizations and persons as being "pro-communist".

But, what too many of these people forget is that the right to criticize and attack (even unfairly) any cause, any organization, or any person who espouses them, is basic to our form of government, so long as it is open and above-board.

During the past three years, both Federal and State Investigating Committees have been asked to check on the John Birch Society — and this they have done, you may be sure. Most amazing of all — the leaders of the John Birch Society have pleaded for such an investigation. They have promised that none of their members would "take the 5th Amendment" to avoid testifying in full. (What a contrast this is to the pro-communists, who fight every investigation, who denounce and insult the committees and their attorneys, who try to break up the hearings by demonstrations, and who constantly seek refuge behind the Fifth Amendment.)

After Governor Pat Brown of California, in numerous public speeches, had labeled the actions of the John Birch Society as "subversion of the worst kind", the head of that organization, Mr. Robert Welch, sent the following telegram to Governor Brown, with copies to Attorney General Mosk and State Senator Hugh Burns, chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities:

"We respectfully and, in view of statements made to the press by officials of your State, urgently demand the proposed investigation of the John Birch Society by the California State Senate Committee on Un-American Activities.

"A dozen, or a hundred, or a thousand of our members in California will gladly testify, and we can assure you that, unlike our Communist enemies, none of our members will take the Fifth Amendment. We will gladly cooperate with the committee in every way we can."

Mr. Paul Talbert, of Beverly Hills, and one of the California Council members of the organization, added:

"We, the John Birch Society, will not picket any investigating committee that might see fit to investigate us.

"We all believe in loyalty oaths, preservation of the Connally Amendment, restoration of the investigative powers of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and any other government committee for the investigation of subversion."

Answers, similar to the above, poured in not only upon Washington and Sacramento, but almost every other State Capitol in the entire country from members of the organization.

What happened then?

Those who had been shouting longest and loudest for Federal or State investigations of the John Birch Society suddenly reversed themselves. "Don't investigate them," they cried, "for these sly and tricky Birchers will use the investigations as forums to expound their evil philosophy."

In a formal report to Governor Brown of California, dated July 7, 1961, Attorney General Stanley Mosk declared:

"The cadre of the John Birch Society seems to be formed primarily of wealthy businessmen, retired military officers and little old ladies in tennis shoes. They are bound together by an obsessive fear of 'communism', a word which they define to include any ideas differing from their own, even though these ideas may differ even more markedly with the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Khrushchev. In response to this fear they are willing to give up a large measure of the freedoms guaranteed them by the United States Constitution in favor of accepting the dictates of their 'Founder'. They seek, by fair means or foul, to force the rest of us to follow their example. They are pathetic."

Then followed fourteen pages of "documentation" which is so obviously biased, so full of holes, so much a quoting of second and third hand sources without any verification, that while its value as a legal document is probably nil, its value as a propaganda piece would rank very high.

But, significantly, the attorney-general, finally makes this point:

"The Birch Society has an equal right with the Prohibitionists, the Vegetarians, the Republicans, the Democrats, or for that matter, with any American, acting singly or in a group, to an expression of its views; and no official, no matter how highly placed, can say them nay . . . We have not conducted an investigation of the John Birch Society, nor do we intend — we are not 'Birch Watchers'."

On April 1, 1961, The Los Angeles Examiner (and probably all other Hearst papers as well) featured under a seven column banner headline reading "JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY BRANDED ANTI-AMERICAN" an article by Frank Conniff, National Editor of the Hearst Newspapers. Wrote Conniff "This reporter happens to know the FBI has taken a dim view of the John Birch Society for quite some time now and has its agents in the proper places to maintain surveillance over its activities.

"From what one can learn of the inner structure of the John Birch outfit, its table of organization resembles nothing so much as the prospectus of the Ku-Klux Klan when it was gathering strength in the 1920's.

"It can be taken for granted that eventually it will reveal itself as an anti-Catholic, anti-Semite movement..."

Mr. Hoover was asked by wire if the above statements by Frank Conniff were true. His reply by wire declared:

THE FBI IS INVESTIGATIVE AGENCY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND DOES NOT MAKE EVALUATIONS OR DRAW CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE CHARACTER OR INTEGRITY OF ANY ORGANIZATION, PUBLICATION OR INDIVIDUAL. CONSEQUENTLY, NEITHER MYSELF NOR ANY REPRESENTATIVE THIS BUREAU COULD HAVE MADE STATEMENT TO WHICH YOU HAVE REFERRED.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

The nation-wide attempt to make the American public view the Birch Society and its members as possible subversives failed, that is true. But it did put them under a cloud of suspicion. Furthermore, the false charges are still being repeated, over, and over, and over. And none are more willing workers in this field of political character assassination than those who play down the communist menace, or view business and military men with a jaundiced eye.

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

For at least a quarter of a century, left-leaning publicists, professors, politicians and lawyers have cried "foul play" each time Congressional or State Investigating Committees have released information about some person's present or former affiliation with Communist or Communist Front organizations. (Of course, its always been quite proper to do so if the affiliations were with fascist, nazi, or racist-minded organizations.)

Professor Henry Steele Commager of Columbia University, in his book *FREEDOM, LOYALTY, DISSENT*, probably developed the best case for those who attack the whole theory of guilt by association.

Not till "the miscalled Alien Registration Act of 1940," wrote the learned professor, "did guilt by association achieve the status of federal law and policy. It became not only a crime but a disability and a sin by virtue of President Truman's Loyalty Order of 22 March, 1947 — an order which set up as one standard for employment and dismissal 'membership in, association with, or sympathetic affiliation with any . . . organization, movement, group or combination of persons, designated by the Attorney General as . . . subversive.' Since then this cloud, originally no bigger than a man's hand, has grown until it fills and darkens the whole horizon."

The folk-wisdom of the ages, expressed in sayings such as "birds of a feather flock together" and "there is no smoke without fire" are dismissed by Commager as "shibboleths".

The theory of guilt by association, in the eyes of the professor, is the most "pernicious doctrine (that has) ever found its way into American law or into popular acceptance . . . It is pernicious in principle, in application, and in consequences. It is based on fear and suspicion, on ignorance and bigotry, on arrogance and vanity. It is designed not to save us or to strengthen us, but to subvert vital parts of our democracy and our constitutional system."

Hundreds of thousands of Americans have, at one time or another quite innocently joined communist front organizations — but when they discovered the true nature of these organizations they got out.

But there are several thousand Americans — writers, teachers, actors, clergymen, lawyers, doctors, social workers, etc. who have joined or assisted *not one or two, but tens and dozens of such notorious front organizations* — and have refused to disavow them even after being informed of their dubious or outright subversive character. If such people be innocent, then they must constitute that small minority of the American people, whom President Lincoln said could be fooled all the time.

Whether we like it or not we *are* judged by the company we keep. If our children get mixed up with juvenile delinquents we do all in our power to break the association for fear of possible consequences.

If one of our adult friends is found to be spending a great deal of time with shady characters, we bend every effort to wean him away from them.

All of us are guilty — guilty of associating with the kind of people we like. When we find the people, the causes, the ideas, the organizations no longer congenial to us, we drop them. That is the way of life.

The Communists and their stooges strenuously fight the theory by guilt of association when it effects them. But they have developed their own unique type of guilt-by-association technique. Thus, for example, *every employer is an exploiter; every good American an imperialist; every bona fide elected official who will not heed Moscow is a tool of capitalism; every citizen who joins forces with others to expose communist intrigue and subversion is a fascist.*

Consciously or unconsciously, a great many people (and some of them in high places) have used this same technique to equate the John Birch Society and its members with organizations and causes that are an anathema to most Americans. Thus, stories have been spread among our foreign born citizens that Birchers are anti-alien. Among negroes, the rumors are spread that it is pro-segregationist and pro-Klan. Catholics are told it is anti-Catholic. Protestants are told it is controlled by the Catholics. Jews are told it is anti-semitic.

In a speech before the Tuolumne County Chamber of Commerce, March 27, 1961, Attorney General Mosk of California referred to the John Birch Society as "one of the fanatical groups on the extreme right" which "must be as closely checked as the Communists, for they are equally dangerous to democracy." This certainly is guilt by association.

Attorney-General Mosk suggested 6 tests "to ascertain whether an organization is extremist and should be suspect by loyal Americans." He added, "Apply those six tests, and you will avoid entangling memberships with, and contributions to such groups as the American Nazi Party, the Communists, the Ku-Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, the Cinema Education Guild, the Muslims and others of that type."

Notice how diabolically he has associated the John Birch Society with organizations that are despised and discredited by most Americans. In communist jargon, this is called "creating an amalgam" — that is, you link the person, persons, or organizations you wish to destroy in the minds of your audience with other persons or organizations which are generally hated and despised.

What has Professor Commager to say about this? So far he has been conspicuously silent. Nor have I seen or heard one word of criticism from the liberal press or news commentators concerning this perversion of guilt by association.

THE SUPREME COURT AND THE CHIEF JUSTICE

That which most helped to raise the blood pressure of so many radicals and other well-meaning citizens, was the suggestion by the Birch Society that impeachment proceedings be initiated against the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Earl Warren.

Doesn't such behavior by the Birchers brand them as the most dangerous of all subversive forces! How dare they call themselves "patriotic"! Why, even the Communists haven't sunk so low!

I do not happen to agree with the Birchers on the feasibility of the impeachment of Justice Warren — and I know, as they do, that the *sole* power to try impeachment rests with the United States Senate.

Impeachment of a civil official, or a member of the Federal judiciary does not remove such person from the office he holds. Impeachment proceedings is the action taken by the House of Representatives to determine whether a person should be charged with misconduct or malfeasance in office. If, in the opinion of the House of Representatives, a person is considered to be guilty it advises the Senate of the United States. This action constitutes impeachment and the Senate, sitting as a jury, tries the person so impeached. If the individual is found guilty by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, he is removed from office.

An impeachment by the House of Representatives is similar to an indictment by a Grand Jury. Unless the Senate tries the impeachment and finds the person guilty of the charges made by the House of Representatives, the impeachment is ineffective — it accomplishes nothing.

There is nothing improper about an impeachment. It is the method provided by the Constitution to bring into debate the actions of a civil officer of the Government and, if they are considered questionable, to provide for his trial by the Senate where he is given full and complete opportunity to defend himself.

To those who believe the Supreme Court and its members sacrosanct, let me point out that *at least* four distinguished Presidents of the United States did not think so: Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

If the critics of the Birch Society would familiarize themselves with the history of our country they would learn:

1. Thomas Jefferson became engaged in a battle with the Supreme Court from the day he became President — a battle which did not end till long after he had left the White House. He distrusted and hated Chief Justice John Marshall, and referred to him as one

"whose mind was of that gloomy malignity which will never let him forego the opportunity of satiating it upon a victim." The Jeffersonian newspapers blasted the Supreme Court and its Chief Justice day after day. But no one considered this disloyalty to the country.

In 1804-5 President Jefferson, to gain a majority of the Supreme Court favorable to his point of view, set in motion action to bring about the impeachment of Associate Justice Samuel Chase of Maryland. That Jefferson failed in this was not for want of trying. His point of view, as expressed by two of his leaders, Senators Giles and Randolph, appears in the diary of John Quincy Adams, dated December 20th, 1804:

"not only Mr. Chase, but all the other judges of the Supreme Court, except the one last appointed, must be impeached and removed."

2. Andrew Jackson indicated on a great number of occasions his suspicion of the Supreme Court. When he took the oath to support the Constitution, it meant, he had declared, that he would support it as *he* understood it—not as outsiders (that is, the Courts) understood it. And later, when Chief Justice Marshall ruled that the State of Georgia could not make laws setting aside an existing treaty between the Cherokee Indians and the United States, President Jackson exclaimed angrily, "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it!" Thus did he nullify the Court's decision.

Jackson, like Jefferson, sought to make the Supreme Court a tool of his Party and Administration. When John Marshall died in 1835, President Jackson nominated to fill the post of Chief Justice, Roger Brooke Taney, a highly partisan politician, who had already been *twice* rejected by the Senate for other high offices. This time he was confirmed.

3. Abraham Lincoln took up the cudgels against the Supreme Court in his 1858 debates with Stephen Douglas. The year before, On March 6, 1857, Chief Justice Taney had promulgated the famous Dred Scott decision. The collusion between President Buchanan and the majority of the Supreme Court in achieving his decision was suspected at the time, but not proved till decades later. (PP. 335-341 Burton Hendrick: *Bulwark of the Republic* — 1937)

When Lincoln challenged the action of the Supreme Court and Chief Justice Taney he found himself labeled as one who sought to destroy the sanctity of the Court and its decisions. Lincoln refused to be stampeded into silence, when he considered the action of the Court wrong. He refused to accept the premise that, once the highest tribunal had spoken, public officials and private citizens alike must accept its acts as final and immutable. Stephen Douglas, on the other hand, charged Lincoln with seeking "to bring the Supreme Court into disrepute among the people...to destroy confidence in the highest judicial tribunal on earth." Lincoln was charged with advocating "lynch-law" and "violence" and to "stir up strife and rebellion in the land."

Lincoln believed that the highest court settled a pending case, and it fixed the law, that is, until the courts themselves decided otherwise. "He believed in the unfettered right of the unjudicial public to criticize the most learned opinion, and, in case it contravened the Constitution, to do all in its power to secure a reversal. Political parties could even advocate policies that 'defied' the Supreme Court and not lose standing as decent, law-abiding organizations. Congress could adopt laws, and Presidents could sign them, that embodied constitutional ideas of which the 'highest tribunal' had disapproved." (P. 340-341 — Burton Hendrick: *Bulwark of the Republic*.)

4. Less than 30 years ago, in 1937 to be exact, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, angered at the action of the Supreme Court in ruling unconstitutional some of his pet New Deal panaceas (especially the National Recovery Act) launched a broadside attack upon the then majority of the Court. They were "nine old men" out of step with the times, who were holding back the nation. At the Democratic Victory Dinner in Washington, D.C., March 4, 1937, the President charged that "the personal, economic predilections of the Court majority has rendered the national and State governments powerless to deal with pressing problems." And in a nation-wide radio address he maintained that the Supreme Court, by its recent actions "cast doubt on the ability of the elected Congress to protect us against catastrophe..." (P. XXI — Burton Hendrick: *Bulwark of the Republic*.)

So Roosevelt proposed a court-packing scheme, along with compulsory retirement of its older members. The issue was fiercely debated all over the country — with almost every one of the 'liberal' leaders of that day joining in the attack on the Court. But this has been conveniently forgotten today.

Just why were the members of the John Birch Society (and hosts of others as well) so critical of our present Supreme Court and its Chief Justice?

Communist subversion, infiltration, espionage and propaganda has been going on in this country ever since Lenin and his Bolshevik cohorts seized power in Russia in November 1917. During and since World War II it has grown by leaps and bounds. The Congress of the United States as well as most of the State legislatures have passed many laws to protect our country and its citizens from this Red Cancer.

The records of the numerous hearings made by House and Senate investigating committees concerning the many aspects of subversion extend back over 40 years. The very first, a Senate committee, whose chairman was Senator Lee Overman, took more than 4,000 pages of testimony. The first House committee, authorized in 1920, and headed by Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York, held hearings in all parts of the country. Its records fill twenty-two volumes. Then

came the Dies Committee of 1938, with an even greater volume of testimony and findings.

Since then have come several other House and Senate investigating committees, each devoted to tracking down one or more phases of the Communist Conspiracy. The printed testimony fills hundreds of volumes. Based upon this voluminous testimony have come the many laws designed to protect our country.

The communists and their fellow-travellers, generously aided by "innocents", "bleeding-hearts", left-leaning liberals, unscrupulous politicians and lawyers have waged unremitting warfare against these Congressional Investigating Committees for almost 40 years. For most of that time they were equally critical of the United States Supreme Court. But in recent years they have made a 180 degree turnabout. They now vigorously defend the Court, and malign those who dare attack it.

How did this come about?

During the decade 1943-1953 a total of 34-cases came before the Supreme Court involving Communist and security questions. In 19 of these cases the Court ruled *against* the communists, and in 14 cases it ruled for them.

Former Governor Earl Warren was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court early in 1953. Within the next 4½ years the Court heard 39 cases *directly related to the Communist issue. During those 4½ years the Court, under its new Chief Justice, ruled against the Communists in only 9 cases, but it ruled for them in 30 cases.* Chief Justice Warren's batting average was 3 *against* and 36 *in favor* of the arguments advanced by the pro-communist attorneys.

Within Congress as well as out of it people began asking themselves "What good is it to pass laws tightening our internal security measures when the Supreme Court strikes them down?" How long must the will of 180,000,000 people be rendered null and void by a handful of five, six or seven Supreme Court Justices? Must the long years of careful investigation, of check and counter-check, of the labor and study involved in drafting adequate legislation, by literally thousands of security officers, prosecutors, state legislators, judges, as well as the entire membership of the United States Congress be for naught?"

One respected authority declared:

"The very audacity of this incredible assumption of sole and final knowledge and insight into a problem as complex as Communism, which threatens the very foundations of America, by five or six men, is both shocking and frightening."

The almost unbelievable actions of the Supreme Court in recent years brought forth the following statement on the floor of the Senate by the honorable Senator John McClellan of Arkansas:

"These and other cases made it appear to many lawyers in all parts of the country that the Court was giving judge-made protection to the Communist Party of the U.S.A. against the powers of the sovereign States and the obvious legislative intent of the Congress, thus weighting the security of the United States too lightly on the scales of justice.

"Protest against the trend of these decisions came from many quarters. The lawyers of the Nation were among the loudest protestants. The National Association of Attorneys General, the Association of Chief Justices, and the Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives of the American Bar Association were among the most influential voices heard in criticism."

Way back in 1821, long before the time of Marx and Engels, and almost a century before Lenin and his cohorts imposed a ruthless communist dictatorship upon the people of Russia, Thomas Jefferson wrote:

"It has long been my opinion and I have never shrunk from expressing it . . . that the germ of the dissolution of our Federal government is in the constitution of the Federal judiciary. An irresponsible body . . . working like gravity by night and day, gaining a little today and a little tomorrow, and advancing its noiseless step like a thief, over the field of jurisdiction until all shall be usurped from the States and the government of all be consolidated into one."

We may disagree as violently as we wish with the pronouncements and writings of the members of the John Birch Society concerning the Supreme Court and Chief Justice Warren.

But if we know our history, we must admit that they have ample precedents to justify their actions.

CHAPTER 8

*On the following pages are listed
a few of those people who are
against the John Birch Society
and other Patriotic organizations.*



ALBERT JASON LIMA ("Mickey")

(Born Mendocino County, Calif., August 31, 1907)
Occupation: Communist Party Official.

Lima first gained some notoriety in 1935 when he was arrested for his activities in connection with a lumber strike at Eureka, California.

He ran as a Communist Party candidate for Congress in the First California District in 1940, and managed to garner 5,647 votes. In 1944 he was elected to the State Committee of the Communist Party of California. The next year he was a delegate to its National Convention in New York City. He was placed on the National Board, and also made Field Organizer for California. He later became East Bay (Oakland-Berkeley, etc.) head of the CP. In 1960 he was a delegate to the USSR, meeting with the Communist Parties of 46 other nations.

Lima was tried and convicted for violation of the Smith Act in 1952. The U.S. Supreme Court ordered a new trial. The charges were finally

dismissed in December 1957.

Lima was in the forefront, directing activities in the riot staged at the San Francisco City Hall, May 1960, when the House Committee on Un-American Activities held its meetings there. Early in 1963 he defied an order of the Subversive Activities Control Board to register as the CP member under the McCarran Act. In July 1963, he was permitted to speak on the campus of the University of California, after Chancellor Kerr had persuaded the Board of Regents to repeal its long-standing rule forbidding Communists to speak on the campus.

GUS HALL

(Born Arvo Kusta Halberg, Oct. 8, 1910,
Minnesota)

Occupation: General Secretary, Communist Party, U.S.A.

Hall is a veteran communist, with more than 30 years of membership. He was District Organizer for the Young Communist League in Minnesota back in 1934. That same year, young Hall was tried and convicted of rioting in Minneapolis. A few years later, 1937-38, he pled guilty to the use of explosives during a steel strike at Warren, Ohio. He was fined \$500.00.

In 1949, Gus Hall was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment on a Smith Act violation. He fled to Mexico. There he was subsequently apprehended and returned to the United States to serve his term. He was given an additional 3 years for contempt of court.

In his appearance before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on Feb. 2, 1960 at Washington, D.C. Hall claimed the privilege of the 5th Amendment on most of the questions asked him—but information was brought out that he had been trained at the Lenin School in Moscow, where he had been taught, among others things, the organization of riots, guerilla warfare, handling of explosives, and techniques of espionage.

During the spring and early summer of 1963, Hall went on a speaking tour of west coast U.S. colleges. In one weeks time he spoke to more than 19,000 students, on "What's wrong with America." Hall admitted under oath a few years ago that he is ready to take up arms against the United States government if it ever gets into a war with the USSR.



DALTON TRUMBO

(Born Montrose, Colorado, December 9, 1905)

Occupation: Screenwriter.



Mr. Trumbo is a versatile and prolific writer, highly paid, and used by all major studios. He was one of the "Hollywood Ten" sentenced to prison for contempt of Congress in 1947. He was released in the spring of 1951. Altho the Motion Picture Producers agreed not to employ any of the Hollywood Ten, he was employed to write under a pseudonym. Since 1960 he has been working openly for them.

He was identified as a Communist Party member in the 1940's, which he has not denied. His anti-war story "Johnny Got His Gun" was published serially in the Daily Worker. He contributed to the New Masses, Mainstream, and other communist periodicals. He spoke at a great many Communist and Communist Front meetings, and sponsored communists running for public office. Member, Actors Laboratory 1941, Hollywood Writers Mobilization, Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee for the Arts, Sciences and Professions, Progressive Citizens of America, Motion Picture Democratic Committee, and many others. In 1949 active with Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact.

Trumbo wrote speeches for many of the top officials of the Roosevelt Administration; worked with Alger Hiss at time of founding of United Nations and wrote speeches of welcome given by State officials.

PAUL ROBESON

(Born, Princeton, New Jersey, April 9, 1898)

Occupation: Singer and Actor.

Graduated Rutgers University 1919, where he was a four letter man in athletics—track, football, baseball, and basketball. Received LL.B. from Columbia University Law School, 1923. On New York stage 1923-26. Became leading singer of American negro music. Became an international success, singing and acting in all parts of the world.

Robeson became involved with the Communist movement in the early 1930's and has continued so to this date. He has been feted and decorated by the USSR and its satellites many times. He sent his son to be educated in Moscow. He was awarded the Stalin Peace Prize.

Robeson has been speaker or singer to and sponsor or member of more than half a hundred Communist front organizations over the past 30 years. He has helped raise vast sums of money for communist causes, both local and foreign.





Rev. STEPHEN HOLE FRITCHMAN

(Born May 12, 1902, Cleveland, Ohio)

Occupation: Minister, First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, California).

He has been actively identified with a large number of Communist-front organizations, including the **Civil Rights Congress**, the **American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born**, the **Emergency Civil Liberties Committee** and many others. He is constantly lending his name, his voice, and his authority as a minister to the numerous pro-Communist or anti-American movements that are constantly springing up in Southern California. He is forever making his church available for meetings by such groups.

Reverend Fritchman was twice subpoenaed to appear at hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (Los Angeles, Dec. 7, 1956 and Sept. 12, 1951.) On both occasions he was asked questions as to his membership in the Communist Party. On both occasions he refused

to answer, using the 5th Amendment as his cloak.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

(Born Concord, N.H., August 8, 1890)

Occupation: National Chairman, Communist Party U.S.A.

Miss Flynn has been an active member of radical or revolutionary groups and organizations for half a century. She belonged to the Socialist Party as a young woman, but found its program too mild for her. She then joined the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) whose program of direct action, sabotage, and general strikes appealed to her. By the middle 1920's Gurley Flynn became convinced that the road to revolution in America had to be guided by Moscow. So she, and a few of her friends, did an undercover job to bring as many members of the IWW as possible into the American Communist Party, a raid from which the IWW never recovered. She has been a founding member of the national American Civil Liberties Union and served its National Committee for many years, but her brazen attempts to use this movement in the cause of the Communist Party finally led to her expulsion from the ACLU in 1940.

Strangely, Miss Flynn has made no appearance before any of the Congressional Investigating Committees, altho there have been numerous references to her and her activities made to these committees.

Miss Flynn was one of the top Communist Party leaders convicted in New York for violation of the Smith Act. She was sentenced to three years in prison, which she served, from January 1955 to May 1957.



LOUIS WEINSTOCK

(Born, probably Russia)

Occupation: Communist Trade Union Leader.

Weinstock's field of operations has always been among the foreign born in New York City. He somehow worked his way in to the position of Secretary-Treasurer of the District Council #9, of the Brotherhood of Painters in the early 1930's, and from that vantage point was able to do much yeoman service for the Communist Party all thru the years, financially, physically, and propaganda-wise.

He was a disciplined and leading communist. Helped organize American Peace Mobilization 1939-40; later the Civil Rights Congress. He was a key figure in the Trade Union Unity League; in the American Labor Party, and a host of other organizations. He was on the National Committee of the Communist Party for many years.

Convicted for violation of the Smith Act in 1947-48. He also authored a booklet, "The Smith Act: A Threat to Labor."

PICTURE NOT AVAILABLE

ALGER HISS

(Born Baltimore, Maryland, November 11, 1904)

Occupation: Attorney.

Graduated Johns Hopkins 1926; Harvard Law School 1928. Was editor Harvard Law Review.

Served one year as secretary to U.S. Supreme Court Justice Holmes. Member law firm Choate, Hall & Stewart of Boston; then Wall Street firm of Cotton & Franklin.

Brought to Washington at beginning of New Deal by former classmate Lee Pressman, along with Nathan Witt and John Abt—all of whom worked together in a Communist unit for many years.

Served with U.S. Government 1933-1946 as follows: AAA—1933; counsel for Senate Munitions Investigation 1934; Dept of Agriculture 1935; Justice Department 1936; State Department late 1936-1946.

Held more important posts than any other communist ever uncovered in U.S.A. In 1939 was with Far Eastern Division of State Department. 1944, director Office of Special Political Affairs and Executive Secretary Dumbarton Oaks Conference. 1945, advisor to President Roosevelt at Yalta Conference with Stalin and Churchill. Later that year, General Secretary to San Francisco Conference which set up United Nations. 1946, special advisor to U.N. General Assembly in London.

Appointed president of Carnegie Endowment for Peace, 1946.

Member International Juridical Association (communist legal front). Also a director of Woodrow Wilson Foundation; Association for the United Nations; on board of trustees, World Peace Foundation.

Sentenced and served 5 years in a federal prison for perjury respecting his secret communist affiliations.



HERBERT APTHEKER

(Born Brooklyn, New York, about 1916)

Occupation: Writer and editor.

He was for many years a contributor to the **New Masses**, the official Communist organ for the intelligensia and literary minded. Later, he was associate editor of **Masses & Mainstream** which replaced the **New Masses**. Subsequently he became the editor of **Political Affairs**, which is the official theoretical organ of American Communism, wherein he undertook to explain the numerous zigs and zags of communist tactics in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

He was for a few years a member of the National Executive Committee of the American Communist Party. Although he took the 5th Amendment on several occasions, he did admit in 1952 that he had been an active member of the Communist Party since 1939. This indicates he was one of those who accepted and defended the notorious Hitler-Stalin Pact, which triggered World War II.

PICTURE NOT AVAILABLE

ARCHIE BROWN

(Born Sioux City, Iowa, December 26, 1911)

Occupation: Longshoreman and Communist official.

Archie Brown has been a part of the organized communist movement all of his adult life. He has arrest records, both at San Francisco and Los Angeles. From 1932 thru 1937 he was California organizer for the Young Communist League. He then left for Spain where he fought in the communist battalions against Franco. He returned to San Francisco in 1939, where he continued his work as a communist in the labor movement. He opposed American entry into World War II until Hitler double-crossed Stalin. After that he was rabid for our intervention.

In 1943 Brown was elected San Francisco County Chairman of the Communist Party. In the intervening years he had many others jobs for the Party. In 1959 he was a delegate to the National Convention of the CP.

At the San Francisco hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, May 14, 1960 Brown was an uncooperative witness. He caused such a disturbance that he had to be evicted from the meeting.

In 1962 Brown was convicted of a violation of the Landrum-Griffin law, for being simultaneously a member of the Communist Party and a labor union official. He was sentenced to 6 months in the county jail.



HYMAN LUMER

(Born Brooklyn, New York, June 29, 1909)

Alias: Robert Harold Meyers.

Occupation: Communist Party Official.

Served for a number of years as Educational Director of the United Electrical Workers Union when it was communist dominated.

Later, National Educational Director of the Communist Party, and a member of its National Executive Committee.

After his release from the Federal prison at Milan, Michigan in January 1963, he was made Editor of the Party's theoretical magazine **Political Affairs**.

Lumer was convicted, along with several others, in 1958, for conspiring to file false National Labor Relations Board affidavits, in which he disavowed CP membership. He was sentenced to pay a fine of \$2,500 and to serve 18 months in prison. He began serving his sentence in November 1961.

Lumer appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities three different times during 1959. He took protection behind the 1st and the 5th Amendments on all sensitive questions.



HARRY BRIDGES

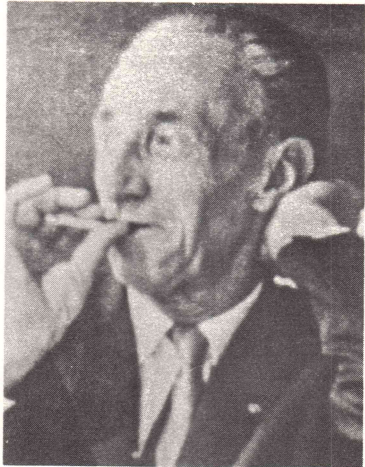
(Born Australia, July 28, 1900)

Occupation: Labor Union Official (I.W.L.U.).

Bridges is one of the most potent radical labor leaders in the United States. Ever since he took over leadership of the San Francisco Longshoremen's strike in 1934 he has worked closely with the Communists, both within and without the labor unions. He has actively supported almost every campaign and pressure organization set up by the Communists. He has seen to it that financial aid, amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars has been given to Communist front organizations by the unions he represented. He has surrounded himself with lieutenants and advisors, almost all of whom have been Communists or Communist sympathizers. To leading communists the world over he has been one of the fair-haired boys.

One of the more recent front organizations which Bridges has been backing is the **Fair Play for Cuba Committee**, a pure and simple Castro front.

A number of witnesses have testified under oath that Bridges was a member of the Communist Party. Bridges himself was never subpoenaed to appear as a witness to answer these charges.



FRANK B. WILKINSON

(Born Charlevoix, Michigan, August 16, 1914)

Occupation: Housing official and communist front organizer.



Wilkinson's family moved to California when he was still a boy. He received his B.A. in Political Science in 1936 from UCLA. Spent a year in Europe then another year in graduate work at UCLA. Employed by California State Relief Administration 1939-40. Executive-Secretary, Los Angeles Housing Council. Federal Work Relief Program 1941-42. Los Angeles Housing Authority, 1942-52, for which he became Director of the Office of Information. Fired when he refused to give information about his communist connections. Was a CP member as early as 1943, and helped recruit many members into the Party. In lengthy hearings before California Senate Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, Wilkinson took the fifth amendment again and again to protect himself from testifying.

Once he had been exposed, Wilkinson worked full time with various communist front organizations. He was one of those active during the San Francisco riots against the House Committee hearings there in 1960.

He served a one year sentence for contempt of congress. He is at present head of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

(Born U.S.A.)

Occupation: Professional Revolutionist.

Lightfoot is today considered the leading spokesman by the American Communist Party on the Negro Problem. Although much younger than his colleagues on the National Executive Committee, Davis and Winston, Claude Lightfoot is highly respected both in Moscow and New York for his abilities as speaker, writer and organizer. He, too, was convicted for violation of the Smith Act. But this in no way dampened his ardor for Communism. Lightfoot has recommended that the Communist Party work with the Black Muslims so as to influence them and win them over to its point of view.



CARL WINTER

Occupation: Professional Revolutionist.

Winter has been a paid functionary of the Communist Party, or one of its affiliates for a full 30 years. Probably joined Party about 1930. In 1929-30 helped organize the union of technical and scientific workers, thru which during World War II much espionage for USSR was done. Was secretary of communist run Unemployed Council of New York in 1933. Was organizer for Party in Detroit area during middle and late 1930's. Member editorial board of **Michigan Herald** a Party newspaper. Transferred to West Coast, where he was Secretary of Los Angeles Communist Party from 1940-45. Lecturer at Workers School and People's Educational Center — 1941-46. Played a leading part in directing Communist maneuvers in Motion Picture Industry 1940-48; and infiltration of Democratic Party of California 1946-48.

Elected to National Executive Committee of C.P. 1944, and has served on it almost continuously since then.

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FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD

(Born U.S.A.)

Occupation: Millionaire Communist.

Mr. Field is a grandson of the famous Commodore Vanderbilt. He was born to, and raised in a life of luxury. In the late 1930's he lined up with the communists, and during the 1940's worked not only with the Soviet Secret Agents, but was the major financial angel behind the Institute for Pacific Relations which did so much to help turn China over to the Communists.

Field was also active on many communist-fronts, including American Peace Mobilization, 1940-41; Russian-American Institute; Washington Committee to Aid China (Red China, that is, editor) Committee for the Democratic Far Eastern Policy; American Continental Congress for Peace; American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born. He taught at the Jefferson School for Social Science.

Field was on the staff of the Daily Worker in the 1940's. He was one of the editors of AMERASIA (Where government agents found thousands of secret documents which had been stolen, or filmed, from government files.)

Field was chairman and organizer of The American Peoples Fund, as a special repository of funds to be distributed to communist organizations.

Field fled the United States — and at last reports was living in Mexico.



JAMES EDWARD JACKSON, Jr.

(Born Richmond, Va., November 29, 1914)

Occupation: Communist editor and organizer.



Jackson is one of the veteran negro intellectuals of American Communism, having joined the Party back in 1933. He received a B.S. degree from Virginia University, and the degree in Pharmacy from Howard University, but except for this his whole adult life has been one of a professional revolutionist. He was vice-president of the **Southern Negro Youth Congress** nearly 30 years ago. Subsequent to this he was a District Organizer for the Communist Party. In 1956 he was its Southern Regional Director.

Indicted by a Federal Grand Jury (6/20/51) at New York, he was charged with conspiracy to violate the Smith Act. He was fugitive from justice till December 1955 when he surrendered in New York. Convicted, he was sentenced to 2 years in prison. This was reversed by U.S. Court of Appeals in 1958. Early in 1957 he was elected to the Na-

tional Executive Committee of the CP. In 1959 he was an official delegate to the 21st Congress of the CP-USSR at the Kremlin.

In 1960, Jackson was appointed editor of **The Worker**, official newspaper of the CP.

On March 10, 1962 he was given a 6 months sentence (contempt of court) for refusing to testify before a grand jury investigation of McCarran Act violations. A U.S. Court of Appeals vacated his sentence June 28, 1962.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS Jr.

(Born Dawson, Georgia, 1903)

Occupation: Top Communist Party Official, attorney.

Davis is one of the relatively few negroes to graduate from Harvard Law School. He is a veteran communist, with more than 30 years devotion to it behind him. No matter how often, nor how violently the Party line changed, Davis had no difficulty in accepting and justifying these changes. Being so unquestioning in his loyalty to the Kremlin, he rose to leadership in the American Communist Party rapidly and served since 1944 on the National Executive Committee, and for a time was its National Secretary.

Davis was elected to the New York City Council as a Communist, a position he held on to for a number of years.

In his appearances before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities he was very uncooperative, taking the 5th Amendment time after time in both hearings.

Davis was indicted and arrested on March 15, 1962 on charges of failing to register the Communist Party under the Internal Security Act. Prior to this, he was one of the top 11 CP leaders who were convicted and imprisoned in the Smith Act trial of 1955-57.



HENRY WINSTON

(Born U.S.A.)

Occupation: Professional Communist.



Together with Benjamin Davis, Henry Winston is one of the real top negroes in the American Communist Party, an organization to which he has given all his time and talent for a full quarter of a century. He is considered by communists, both here and abroad, to be an excellent organizer, and understands fully both legal as well as underground work. He was indicted and sentenced to serve a prison term for violation of the Smith Act in 1947-48. He has served on the National Executive Committee of the Party for many years, and was for a long time its Organizational Secretary. He also heads all work done among negroes. He has written a great many articles and pamphlets on the techniques of communist organization.

JOHN GATES

(Born U.S.A., about 1912)

Occupation: Professional Revolutionist.

John Gates served his apprenticeship in the Young Communist League during the early 1930's, and was Secretary of the New York State organization in 1937. That year, with about 3,000 other American communists, he left for Spain to serve in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the civil war then raging there. After his return he devoted full time to the adult organization, and was immediately recognized as a coming leader. He followed all the zig-zags of Stalin faithfully and by 1944 was on the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party, a position he held for many years. He became one of the editors of the Daily Workers in 1947, and during that and following years, was in charge of all work among veterans. Gates is a hard core communist. He was indicted and sentenced to a jail term for violation of the Smith Act.



ROBERT THOMPSON

(Born U.S.A., about 1911)

Occupation: Professional Revolutionist.



Robert Thompson's membership in the communist movement stems back at least to the early 1930's — for by 1938 he was already acknowledged as the leader of the Young Communist League in California. He served on its National Committee, and later was its vice-president. When, during World War II, the YCL was transformed to the Youth for Democracy, Thompson was its first National Chairman.

He served for over a year in the communist Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain during the Civil War there.

From 1944-1948 Thompson was a member of the Secretariat of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party, and for part of that time served also as Chairman of the New York organization.

He was one of the leading communist indicted and sentenced under the Smith Act in 1948.

He has continued as one of the real powers in the Party.

He was State Secretary of the American Labor Party of New York when the communist controlled it.

VICTOR PERLO

Occupation: Economist.

The "Perlo Group" was one of the secret communist units functioning in Washington, D.C. from 1933 to 1948. When Perlo was confronted with the evidence against him he sought refuge behind the fifth amendment, and left government service.

Perlo joined the staff of the NRA in the early days of the New Deal in 1933 and remained there till 1935. He then transferred his activities to the Home Owners Loan Corporation. From 1937 to 1939 he was with the Brookings Institution. 1940-41 Perlo was back on the government payroll, by 1940 as special agent and senior economic analyst for the Dept. of Commerce. In 1942 he shifted to the Office of Price Administration; and in 1943 to the War Production Board. From December 1945 thru 1947 he was with the Treasury Department.



STEVE NELSON



(Born Steve Mesarosh at Chaglich, Yugoslavia 1903)

Aliases: Joseph Fleischinger, Louis Evans, and Hugo.

Occupation: Long time key Communist Party official and organizer.

Began his career as lawbreaker when he entered the United States, June 12, 1920 under an illegal and fraudulent passport as Joseph Fleischinger.

Served as one of Communist political commissars in Spanish Civil War 1936-38.

Took training at Lenin School in Moscow.

One of the leaders of the Communist atomic espionage ring in California during World War II.

Organizer of strikes and unemployed in Middle Western States.

Tried and sentenced to 20 years for sedition in State of Pennsylvania. He served 11 months, 25 days before conviction was reversed by U.S.

Supreme Court.

Likewise his trial under the Smith Act was dropped after an unfavorable Supreme Court decision.

LOUIS GOLDBLATT

(Born May or June 1910, New York City)

Alias: Lewis Miller.

Occupation: Secretary-Treasurer, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union. (ILWU)

Together with Harry Bridges, Goldblatt is the real power in the ILWU and has been so for about 20 years. Labor leaders in the AFL-CIO consider him an able, ruthless and dangerous man, whose pro-Communist leanings and endeavors have been obvious to them for fully two decades.

He was active in the **Young Communist League**, as well as in the **American Youth Congress**, **National Negro Congress**, **American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born** and many other communist-front organizations.

As a witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities at San Francisco (12/11/56) he took the 5th Amendment on most questions. He became so abusive that he was finally ejected from the hearing room.

The following year (7/30/57) at a Senate Committee hearing in Washington, D.C., he stated he was not at that time a member of the Communist Party, but refused, on the basis of the 5th Amendment, to say whether he ever had been a member.

PICTURE NOT AVAILABLE

HERBERT JOSEPH BIBERMAN

(Born Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 4, 1900)

Occupation: Motion Picture Writer and Director.



Biberman, and his wife, actress Gale Sondergaard, were both extremely active in Hollywood Communist front circles during the 1930's and 1940's. Both were identified as members of the Communist Party. Biberman, because of his hostile attitude before the House Committee of Un-American Activities hearing in Washington, D.C., October 29, 1947, was cited for contempt and subsequently served 5 months in a federal prison.

He was a member of the Studio Unemployment Conference in 1938, which developed into the powerful pro-communist Conferences of Motion Picture Arts and Crafts. In 1938 he was also a member of the pro-communist Motion Picture Democratic Committee. He was one of the chief spokesmen for the American Peace Crusade, and the American Peace Mobilization, 1940 which supported the Stalin-Hitler Pact, and tried to

prevent the United States from aiding Britain and France.

Later he helped the Peoples Educational Center of Los Angeles, and in the 50's supported the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, another communist front.

GILBERT GREEN

(Greenbaum or Greenburg)

(Born: Chicago, Illinois about 1907)

Occupation: Professional Revolutionist.

Gilbert Green joined the Young Workers (Communist) League in Chicago when he was still a teenager attending high school, about 1924. Soon he was on the City Committee, then the sub-district, and finally the District Committee of the YWL. Thereafter (1926 or 1927) he became a paid organizer, and has remained a paid functionary of the Communist movement ever since. By 1938 he had become National Chairman of the Young Communist League, and made one or more trips to Moscow. During the 1940's he became a full time functionary of the Communist Party. By 1945 he was District Organizer for New York, the largest unit of the Party. He has served on the National Executive Committee for many years.



DAVID HYUN

(Born in Korea, 1917)

Occupation: Architect.

A number of witnesses, testifying under oath, independently identified Hyun as an active member of the Communist Party, both in Hawaii and later in Los Angeles. When he appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (12/6/56) he took the 5th Amendment.

He was arrested by the Immigration Department as an alien Communist, and deportation proceedings were undertaken. He and his attorneys argued that to deport him to Korea under present conditions would be fatal to him. The case has dragged along for years, meanwhile Hyun has continued his communist activities. He has been active with, among others, the following communist-front organizations: **Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born; American Peace Crusade; and Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms.**

PICTURE NOT AVAILABLE

JOHN HOWARD LAWSON

(Born New York City, Sept. 25, 1894.
Father's name was Levy)

Occupation: Writer.

Lawson had already associated himself with various Communist theatrical groups in New York City prior to becoming a Hollywood screen writer in the early 1930's. For a number of years Lawson was the key power in the Screen Writers Guild, a power exercised by the tightly knit communist party members in the Guild. Lawson took an active part in almost every one of the numerous Communist front organizations during the 1930's and '40's. No proclamation, no manifesto, no appeal for funds was complete without his name in Hollywood.

In sworn testimony presented to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, it was charged that Lawson in 1944 had Communist Party registration card #4725. At the Washington, D.C. hearings, Oct. 27, 1947 Lawson refused to testify on questions regarding his membership in the CP, so was cited to the House of Representatives for contempt of the Committee. He was convicted of this contempt April 19, 1948, and sentenced to one year in a Federal prison plus a fine of \$1,000.

Despite his appeal the Courts upheld his conviction and he had to serve his sentence. Lawson was top man among the infamous "Hollywood Ten". He recently spent two years in Europe and the USSR. When he returned to Los Angeles in the summer of 1963, the **Southern California Committee for the People's World** (official west coast CP paper) arranged a "Welcome Back" affair for Lawson and his wife.



HUGH DE LACY

(Born Seattle, Washington, May 9, 1910)

Occupation: Carpenter contractor, ex-Congressman.



DeLacy was elected President of the radically-minded Washington Commonwealth Federation in September 1937, which he and other Communists brought under their control. Testimony as to DeLacy's Communist Party membership was presented to the Dies Committee in October 1939. DeLacy wrote articles for the Communist press, and served as sponsor for a host of well known Communist front organization during the late 1930's and '40's.

Elected to Congress from Seattle November 1943. One of his first acts in Congress was to seek dismissal of deportation hearings against Harry Bridges. His voting record in Congress was almost 100% with what the Communists proposed. As a result he was defeated for re-election.

He moved to Ohio where he was active in assorted communist front organizations. He took 5th amendment when asked to testify if he were

a communist before, during, or after his term as a Congressman.

Since moving to Los Angeles, DeLacy has been active in the **Council of Democratic Clubs (CDC)**; the **Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms**, and served as speaker for the **Constitutional Liberties Information Center**. A press release of October 3, 1962 listed DeLacy as an endorser of a petition opposing the Internal Security Act of 1950.

Many former communists have testified under oath as to DeLacy's membership in the Communist Party.

FRANK SPECTOR

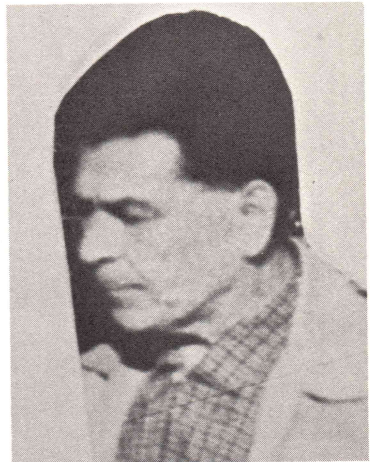
(Born in Odessa, Russia, February 18, 1895)

Occupation: Book store manager and professional Communist.

Spector arrived in the United States at the age of 18. He has been a resident of Southern California since 1921 and an active member of the Communist Party for 40 years. The first few years his activity was confined largely to Jewish and Russian groups in Los Angeles. By 1927 he was the acting Sub-District organizer for the Party. In 1928 he helped manage the Communist Party election campaign for Southern California. In 1930 he was arrested and convicted under the California State criminal syndicalism law. The conviction was reversed by a higher court.

In 1929 the Immigration and Naturalization Service arrested Spector and ordered him deported back to the USSR. But the Soviet Union refused him entry, so Spector has remained here all these years, carrying on his activities. In 1955 he was again arrested under the Smith Act. Again he was convicted. But he was freed by a decision of the US Supreme Court on June 17, 1957.

For the past few years, Spector has served as manager of the Progressive Book Shop in Los Angeles — the central point for the dissemination of Communist literature for the whole of Los Angeles County.



PHILIP MARSHAL CONNELLY "Slim"

(Born Everett, Pennsylvania, December 23, 1903)

Occupation: Communist editor and organizer.



Connelly, who was a reporter on the Hearst papers in Los Angeles for many years became interested in communism and unionism about 1936. He joined the Los Angeles chapter of Newspaper Guild at the time of its formation. He began cooperating with the local communists soon thereafter, and joined the Party (secretly) by 1938. With communist aid he became head of the CIO in Los Angeles, and later president of the California CIO Council, a post from which he was finally ousted after several years bitter conflict by the non-communist union members.

Connelly then began working openly as a communist. Over the past 18 years he has held nearly every position of authority the Communist Party can offer. For many years he was editor of the **Daily People's World**. In September 1951 he was arrested for violation of the Smith Act, convicted

In 1952. He received a 5 year sentence and a \$10,000 fine. The conviction was appealed to the Supreme Court, which reversed the conviction.

Connelly is married to Dorothy Healey, the present head of the Communist Party in Southern California.

DOROTHY RAY HEALEY (Mrs. Philip Connelly)

(Born: Dorothy Rosenblum in Denver, Colorado,
September 22, 1914)

Occupation: Professional Communist.

Dorothy Healey has been a dedicated communist since she was a teenager. She was active in the Young Communist League of Southern California in the early 1930's under the name of Dorothy Ray, and for the past 25 years has held all manner of responsible positions in the Communist Party itself. She was already a key leader in 1951 when she was arrested for violation of the Smith Act. Convicted in 1952, she was sentenced to 5 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. The Supreme Court reversed the ruling. She has been a delegate to various National Conventions of the Communist Party, and for the past several years has been the undisputed head of its Southern California section — the second largest in the United States.

She has been called as a witness before both Congressional and State investigating committees on a number of occasions, but has used the protection of the 5th amendment, so she would not have to reveal the internal machinations and operations of the Party.

Dorothy Healey is a skilled speaker and debater.



CLARENCE A. HATHAWAY

(Born U.S.A., about 1898)

Occupation: Professional Revolutionist, Editor.



Hathaway joined the American Workers Party at about the time of its formation in 1922. This was in Minnesota. He became a paid functionary shortly thereafter, and has been so ever since. He worked his way up from Sub-district to District Organizer, serving both in the middle west and east. For a number of years, especially during the rise of the CIO in the middle 30's he devoted much time to communist infiltration and influencing of the labor unions. He has made several trips to Moscow as representative of the American Communist Party, and has always been able to justify and expound whatever programs or tactics were ordered by Moscow.

He has been editor of the Daily Worker for many years. He has been a member of the National Executive Committee, off and on, for more than twenty years.

JOHN J. ABT

Occupation: Attorney and former Government Employee.

John Abt attracted national attention in 1948, when Witaer Chambers (on August 3rd) and Elizabeth Bentley (on July 31st) testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that John J. Abt, a top federal government employee, had been a member of secret communist apparatus in Washington, working with Soviet espionage agents.

At a hearing of the House Committee on August 20th, 1948 Abt was given an opportunity to refute these charges. He declined to answer on grounds of possible self-incrimination. On May 26, 1953 he was called as a witness before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. He again refused to testify, invoking the Fifth amendment.

Abt had served as general counsel for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union under Sidney Hillman as well as co-counsel to the CIO Political Action Committee from 1938 to 1948. He was chief counsel to the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee in the very early 1930's. He held various positions in the federal government from 1933 to 1938, including Legal Division of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and assistant to the Attorney General in the Department of Justice. He was at the same time a leading member of the National Lawyers Guild, foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party.

In 1948 Abt became special counsel for the Progressive Party, and a member of its national committee 1950-52. He was active in the Civil Rights Congress. In 1953 he was key speaker at a conference "To Fight the McCarran Law Persecutions and McCarthyism."

He visited the USSR in 1945 and reported in articles how impressed he was with the stern but fair attitude of soviet prosecutors and judges, and the scrupulous care given to safeguard the rights of defendants.



REUBEN BOROUGH

(Born, U.S.A., 1890's)

Occupation: Newspaperman and professional radical.



Borough worked for many years on various Southern California newspapers. He was a radical, and a socialist, till the Upton Sinclair, "End Poverty in California" (EPIC) hit the State in 1933-34. He took an active part in the 1934 gubernatorial campaign. In 1935 he began **The Progressive News**, a left-leaning weekly, but was critical of the communists. For his assistance in electing Judge Fletcher Bowron Mayor of Los Angeles (1937) he was appointed to the Board of Public Works and served for several years. Sworn testimony indicates he secretly joined the Communist Party about 1938. His record since that time has been almost continuously one of sponsor, officer, or organizer of a multitude of communist front organizations. In the spring of 1940 he served on the anti-Roosevelt slate in the

Democratic primary, running on a slogan: "No Arms, No Aid to Britain and France. Down with Imperialist War!" When the Stalin-Hitler Pact was broken a few weeks later, Borough, like all true communists, began shouting for immediate intervention by the United States. He was candidate for State Treasurer of California on the Independent Progressive Party ticket in 1950. He was very active in the campaign to free the atomic spies, the Rosenbergs. In 1960-61 he became head of the Constitutional Liberties Information Center (CLIC) whose basic job was to win public support for reversal of the U.S. Supreme Court's decisions upholding the McCarran and Smith Acts.

VINCENT HALLINAN

(Born U.S.A., about 1900)

Occupation: Attorney.

Presidential candidate of the Independent Progressive Party 1952. Served 18 months jail sentence for contempt of court in connection with his defense of Harry Bridges. Denied permission to leave U.S. for entrance to Canada to address Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, 1952. Active in defense of atomic spies, the Rosenbergs, 1951-52. Sponsor of a host of communist front organizations. Active with California Labor School. Proposed "perpetual picket-line around White House and Capitol" to protest Jim Crow, in Washington, D.C. speech, May, 1953.

Attended Moscow trial of U-2 pilot Powers in spring of 1960. Upon return to U.S.A. wrote articles extolling Soviet Russia, and Soviet Justice in particular.



CHARLOTTA A. BASS



Occupation: Editor and publisher.

Mrs. Bass ranks with the veteran negro communist partyliners. Her weekly paper, the California Eagle, supported every communist front or drive for many, many years. Her name began appearing as a sponsor of communist front organizations as early as 1941 — National Federation of Constitutional Liberties in September 1941; as a sponsor for a communist candidate for California State Senator in November 1942; for the American Youth for Democracy (formerly the Young Communist League) in December 1944; and for a "press conference" to raise money for the communist **People's World** in July 1944.

In 1947 Mrs. Bass was elected to the Executive Board of the Progressive Citizens of America, Southern California Chapter. In 1952 she was the candidate for Vice President of the United States on the communist-dominated Independent Progressive Party of America.

DR. DIRK J. STRUIK

(Born: Rotterdam, Netherlands, about 1898)

Occupation: Mathematician and university professor.

Dirk Struik received his Ph.D. from the University of Leyden. He also did advanced work at the Universities of Rome and Gottingen. He emigrated to the United States in 1926, and began teaching at Massachusetts Institute of Technology almost at once. He remained on the staff till his retirement in 1960.

Dr. Struik has a long record of sponsorship, association, or affiliation with Communist front organizations and drives including, Civil Rights Congress, Committee to Defend America by Keeping out of War, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. He has signed appeals on behalf of leading Communists. He taught at the Jefferson School of Social Science.

As a top pro-communist intellectual he was a frequent contributor to the **New Masses** as well as **Science and Society**, both communist publications.

He was indicted by the State of Massachusetts in 1955, charged with subversion, but the indictment was quashed following the U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1956 in the Steve Nelson case.

He was featured speaker at a Los Angeles press banquet, October 15, 1961, sponsored by the **People's World**.

PICTURE NOT AVAILABLE

NATHAN WITT

Occupation: Attorney and former Federal Government Employee.

Witt entered Government employ in 1933 as an attorney for Agricultural Adjustment Administration, upon recommendation of Lee Pressman (who later admitted his Communist affiliations). In 1934 he began working for National Labor Relations Board, becoming Assistant General Counsel in 1935, and Secretary to the Board in 1937-40. He was a close associate of John Abt, Alger Hiss and other secret communists in government service. Witt was identified as member of communist underground group working in Washington during 1930s by at least three witnesses.

Late 1940 Witt returned to private practice. Called before Congressional Committees 3 times to testify. Invoked fifth amendment each time so he would not have to answer charges.

Became general counsel for communist dominated Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union in 1941 — a key union because of its strategic position in non-ferrous metals industry. In 1941 also counsel for United Federal Workers Union, communist-dominated. In late 1940's chief counsel for infamous New York Teachers Union, Local 555.

Counsel for and executive committee member of National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and in 1946 of its successor, the Civil Rights Congress. Member National Lawyers Guild and International Juridical Association, both well known communist fronts, and a host of others.

PICTURE NOT AVAILABLE

ALBERT MALTZ

(Born Brooklyn, New York, October 8, 1908)

Occupation: Motion picture writer and novelist.

For about 10 years was one of Hollywood's most highly paid and prolific screenwriters, working for Paramount, RKO, Republic and Warner Bros.

His communist connections began in New York where he was a member of the John Reed Club as early as 1934. He wrote for the Daily Worker in late 1933 and for the New Masses in 1936; on editorial board of Mainstream, 1946. Identified by several witnesses as Communist Party member. Active in more than 30 Front organizations 1935-50.

A leading figure in Screen Writers Guild when it was under communist control, Maltz was one of the "Hollywood Ten" sentenced to prison for contempt of Congress as a result of his appearance before House Committee on Un-American Activities, October 28, 1947. Served time from June 29, 1950 to April 4, 1951.

Moved to Mexico where he continued his literary and communist activities.



IRVING POTASH

(Born Russia, about 1900)

Occupation: Union Leader and Professional Revolutionist.



Irving Potash, who entered this country illegally, and was ordered deported, still walks about a free man because Soviet Russia, the land of his birth, refuses to accept him.

Potash is a veteran Communist, having belonged to either the Young Communist League or the Communist Party almost since their inception. He served on the New York District Committee of the Party as far back as the middle 20's. Like his close co-worker Jack Stachel, he was rough and tough, and would blindly follow Moscow's lead. He found no difficulty in working with thugs and gangsters to try to take over local unions in New York's garment industry. For many years — during the 1940's — he was Manager of the New York Joint Board of the Fur and Leather Workers Union, an out and out communist run organization.

Potash also served for many years on the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party and helped direct its work in mass organizations.

ABRAM (ABRAHAM) FLAXER

(Born, Vilna, Lithuania, September 12, 1904)

Alias: John Brant

Occupation: Union Official.

Brought to the U.S. in 1911, derived U.S. citizenship through his parents in 1917. Graduated from New York City College about 1925. Attended Columbia University summer school 1936. Had already joined Communist Party functioned under alias of "John Brant". In 1937 a left-leaning AFL union of public workers switched to the CIO, calling itself the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America. Flaxer helped form the union and became its first national president that year. In 1946 SCMWA merged with another CIO union, the United Federal Workers union — and the new organization took the name United Public Workers of America. Flaxer became president of it, and remains so to this day.

Flaxer has been identified with a large number of Communist-front organizations, including American Peace Mobilization, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. His union includes workers in important government buildings and offices all over the country, being thus a potential source for both sabotage and espionage.

He appeared before the Senate Internal Securities Subcommittee, October 5, 1951 but took the fifth amendment many times to avoid testifying. Convicted of contempt of Congress for this, he fought a long legal battle, and in June 1957 his conviction was voided by the U.S. Supreme Court.

PICTURE NOT AVAILABLE

NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER

(Aliases: Nathan Silbermaster, Gregory Masters)

(Born Harbin, Siberia, about 1898)

Occupation: Economist.



Silvermaster emigrated to the United States shortly after the Russian Revolution. He studied for a time at the University of Washington in Seattle, where he was a secret member of the Communist Party. He moved to Berkeley, California in the early 1920's and there continued his studies in economics, getting his advanced degrees from the University of California in the late 1920's. He then taught at St. Mary's College till the beginning of the New Deal, when he was brought to Washington.

Silvermaster was for many years one of the secret communists in the "Perlo Group". He worked for both the Department of Agriculture and other agencies, until exposed by Elizabeth Bentley in the late 1940's. His basement was used to photograph secret government documents.

When called upon to testify, he sought refuge behind the fifth amendment.

He is now a real estate salesman in New Jersey.

JACK STACHEL (JACOB)

(Born New York ? about 1897)

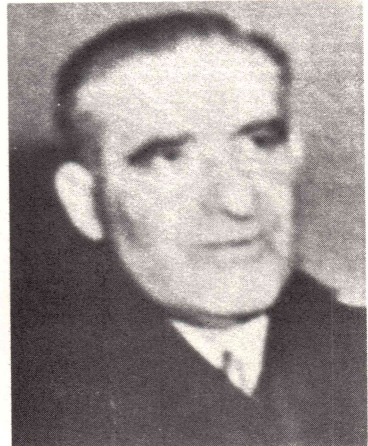
Occupation: Professional Revolutionist.

Jack Stachel has the dubious distinction of having been on the Communist Party payroll longer than anyone else—about 40 years. His only other work, so it is reported, was as a soapbox salesman of knickknacks on New York street corners.

Stachel joined the Young Workers (Communist) League late in 1922. A year later he was on the payroll as City Organizer, a position he held for several years. He then moved on to jobs within the Party apparatus. He is credited with having been the liaison man between the Party and some New York gangsters as the communists tried to take over control of the garment industry unions. Stachel was tough and unscrupulous, therefore in good standing with Moscow—which he visited on numerous occasions. He was ideal to head a wrecking crew, in the bitter factional struggles. Somehow, he always managed to wind up in support of the winning faction. He has served on the National Executive Committee for decades, and often on the inner Secretariat.

Stachel has been in charge of the Party's organizational work, trade union work, and educational work at one time or another. He undoubtedly had much to do with setting up the underground apparatus of the Party.

Convicted under the Smith Act he served a term in a federal prison.





Late—But Welcomed!

"The John Birch Society has always supported the doctrine of limited constitutional government and the American free enterprise concept which emanated from the philosophy espoused by our founding fathers at Philadelphia."—FORMER CONGRESSMAN JOHN H. ROUSSELOT.

The release of information by the State Senate Fact-Finding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities which cleared the much-maligned John Birch Society of subversion is long overdue.

It could have been released prior to the last election in November. The question naturally arises as to why this pertinent information was not made available to the public at that time. Who was playing politics?

This sort of thing is clearly reprehensible. The people have been deceived by opportunists with axes to grind. What, no apologies?

Unfair Smears

No innocent group of Americans has been more unjustly villified in modern times than the John Birch Society. Talk of unfounded smears, guilt-by-association tactics and outright hate-mongering techniques. This just about beat everything!

What the so-called "liberals" had accused Sen. Joseph McCarthy of doing 10 years before in a phony move to discredit him, they now did in high gear against the JBS—and discredited themselves in the process.

The Fabian contingent in press, radio and television almost knocked themselves out. To them, JBS was an unthinking hate word! Few bothered to investigate the society personally. They relied on their supposed "facts" from their liberal mentors and propaganda mills.

I am glad I never yielded to the rush to "get on the bandwagon" and smear unjustly the Birchers. It might

have made me "popular" in certain shady nooks had I done so. But I could not have cared less!

Never Yielded

Anytime an editorial columnist has to write a column for so-called popularity, he ought to quit on the spot. Go join the flak-men, instead!

Fortunately, my editors and publishers have always permitted me academic freedom and liberty of conscience. I write what I believe to be the truth. For this reason my large mail-count has been overwhelmingly favorable.

It seemed necessary for me to defend the JBS from outrages in the mass communications media from the beginning, because for awhile I was the only one available who picked up the sword consistently in the metropolitan press to do so. Few others jumped in the fight.

About the only fair and constructive critical articles on JBS were written by Gene Blake of the Times. This launched the attack. I did not agree with all his implications or conclusions, but recognized good objective workmanship.

Unfounded Gossip

Blake, unlike nearly everybody else who followed him, at least did his homework. He actually went into the JBS and learned the basic facts. So did I before I commenced writing on the subject. How about other writers?

Most of the hate-filled diatribes which followed against JBS were unfounded gossip, hearsay evidence or wishful imagination.

Some of these bunko artists had the temerity to call themselves "reporters," too. Which indicates that journalism has fallen to a dangerous low!

CHAPTER 9

WHAT A TWO-YEAR INVESTIGATION OF THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY REVEALED

The material which follows consists *in its entirety* of direct quotations from the recently released (June 12, 1963) report by the California State Senate Factfinding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities.

The full report has been printed in a very limited edition, and is, therefore, unavailable to most people. Furthermore, the nation's press, (not to mention radio and television stations) have given it minuscule coverage, despite the fact that attacks upon the John Birch Society and its members have been headline news for three years.



REPORT OF THE SENATE FACTFINDING SUBCOMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES TO THE 1963 REGULAR CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

On March 22, 1961, Robert Welch sent a telegram to Governor Brown and a copy to Senator Hugh Burns, requesting an investigation of the John Birch Society by the California Senate Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, of which Senator Burns is chairman. On the following day this telegram was sent to Mr. Welch:

"Robert Welch, Founder, John Birch Society, Belmont 78, Massachusetts. This will acknowledge your telegram of March 22 in which you express a willingness to appear before our committee. We have been aware of your society's existence and have made some investigation of its activities. In the normal course of events, we would expect to continue this investigation at the conclusion of the current session of the Legislature. At that time you will be beyond the jurisdiction of a California legislative

committee. However, if you are still willing to appear before our committee, we will arrange such a hearing. Please bear in mind that our committee policy has been to conduct our inquiries through staff investigation and in executive committee session in order to accomplish the greatest amount of good with the least amount of sensationalism. Our committee would appreciate it if you would keep us posted as to your whereabouts and activities until we have an opportunity to schedule a hearing. Hugh M. Burns, Chairman, Senate Factfinding Committee on Un-American Activities."

Senator Burns then issued the following press release:

"I have sent a wire to Robert Welch, the founder of the John Birch Society, acknowledging his willingness to appear before the committee.

"The committee will be glad to schedule a hearing after the adjournment of the legislative session at which time he will be invited to appear.

"I do not believe it would be in the public interest to embark on an extensive investigation of this organization while the Legislature is in session. It would have a disruptive effect on our legislative duties.

"We have been investigating the society and would continue to do so with or without the current outbreak of controversy. There have been allegations that the society is or could become subversive. Our investigation has not progressed to the stage where a conclusive judgment on this subject could be made.

"Certainly the mere fact that this is a right wing instead of a left wing organization does not clothe it with some sort of holiness which protects it from being dangerous to our country.

"Any movement, from the unbalanced right or the unbalanced left, which tears the country apart by rumor, slander, fear and doubt must necessarily be suspect. We will continue our investigation. It will be thorough. It will be done in a careful, dignified manner, at a time and place where calmness and deliberation can prevail."

Immediately after these telegrams and statements appeared in the press, the committee was deluged with a stream of letters that has continued until the present time. Virtually all of the writers insisted that we hold public hearings. Critics of the society demanded that we expose it as a fascist movement; members of the society were equally insistent that we unmask its critics as Communists or Communist dupes. So vehement and persistent were these demands, so steady was the volume of letters, that the committee was moved to state once again the scope of its authority and the nature of its operation. On April 8, 1961, the Fresno *Bee* carried this statement by Senator Burns:

"...we are not a headline hunting committee. We are not

oriented to sensationalism. We are a study and factfinding committee. We get information from documents, personal interviews, closed hearings and other investigative procedures.

"The facts then developed are analyzed and reports submitted to the Legislature. Times, places, dates and names are printed where it is deemed necessary to document conclusions.

"As to the John Birch Society, some thought should be given to the function of our committee in relation to the society. Our committee is a factfinding committee on un-American activities. Our sole interest in the John Birch Society must go to the question of whether the society is un-American.

"We are not interested in investigating the John Birch Society to find out what its views are on Communism. We are only interested in finding out whether the John Birch Society is un-American."

We have pursued our investigation with these limits in mind, having started our file on the society shortly after it commenced to operate in this state. Our study is based on a wide range of newspaper descriptions of the John Birch Society, from the restrained treatment by Gene Blake in the Los Angeles *Times* to the somewhat more critical articles in the Santa Barbara *News-Press*: a variety of booklets and pamphlets ranging from sympathetic analyses from the political right and furious attacks from the Communist Party itself; we have sent investigators out in the field to interview both detractors and supporters of the society; we have secured affidavits and signed statements from 91 people, and we have reports from agents who attended chapter meetings of the society. From official sources we have obtained and studied the literature of the organization, the *Blue Book*, *American Opinion*, the monthly bulletins and recommended books. We have read the report issued by Attorney General Mosk, and the charges made by Governor Brown.

Origin and Growth

Robert H. W. Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, was born in Chowan County, North Carolina, 63 years ago. He received a degree from the University of North Carolina, attended Annapolis Naval Academy for two years and studied law at Harvard. He then became interested in the candy manufacturing business.

Welch established residence at Belmont, Massachusetts, served as a vice-chairman of the Republican Party Finance Committee in that state and was a candidate for its lieutenant governor in 1950.

As a result of his reading and his travels, Welch became convinced that the nation faced imminent peril from Communist subversion at home. Accordingly he asked some of his business acquaintances to come and discuss the problem. They assembled from several states and listened while, on December 8 and 9, 1958, Welch expressed his views. This was the inception of the John Birch Society, and the

statements Welch made on that occasion were incorporated into the society's *Blue Book*, its basic document. In this 179-page book is set forth the principles, purposes, organizational structure and activities of the society. In addition monthly bulletins are issued from the national headquarters at Belmont 78, Massachusetts, and distributed to members through their individual chapters. *American Opinion* is a magazine also published by Welch as part of the society's literature.

By the end of 1959 there were chapters of the society in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Virginia, South Carolina, Wisconsin, Florida, Michigan, Tennessee, Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Texas, Washington and California. In 1961 the only states remaining unorganized were Alabama, Alaska, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah and Vermont. And as 1961 shortened some of these states were rapidly being organized.

Origin of the Name

The name of the society was taken in honor of the late Captain John Birch of Georgia, who was serving as an American intelligence officer in China and was killed by Chinese Communists 10 days after the end of World War II. Welch researched the case, and wrote about Birch in *American Opinion* magazine. This account depicts Birch as an American martyr, but as the John Birch Society has been beset with controversy every step of its way, so has there been controversy even about the account of the man whose name it bears.

Welch believed the name appropriate because John Birch was undoubtedly the first American to be killed by Communists during the cold war. Having been a Baptist missionary in China, familiar with several Chinese language dialects, Birch later joined the Fourteenth Air Force and at the time of his death on a railroad near Hsuehchow in 1945 was an agent in the Office of Strategic Services. He aided prisoners of the Chinese Communists to escape from the country, and as he stood for the principles of Christianity, was an implacable enemy of Communism, and was in the uniform of his country's armed forces at the time he was murdered, he epitomized the things for which the John Birch Society also stands.

Guilt by association is as old as civilization itself, in the sense that it is only natural that a man should be judged to some degree by the company he elects to keep and the organizations with which he elects to associate. It may be perfectly lawful for a man to join a Communist front organization — or a dozen or more, for that matter. But it is equally lawful and logical for him to be appraised accordingly.

The fact that members of the John Birch Society were associated together in a tightly knit movement led by Welch has prompted many newspapers and magazines to assume that the members held the same views that Welch expressed in *The Politician* and *American Opinion*.

Spokesmen for the society, and Welch himself, have repeatedly declared that *The Politician* was written and sent to friends before the society was ever conceived; that it was strictly private correspondence between individuals and marked confidential. It was, however, obtained by the press and given sensational publicity without the consent of the author. Rank and file members of the society point out that Welch's private ideas are his own, and that his views regarding the loyalty of our highest public officials are shared by few of the members. And the same thing goes, they say, for his ideas about smelling out Communists, and the alleged Soviet scheme to disseminate the Pasternak and Djilas books.

Early members of the society never heard of *The Politician*, which was written four years before it was formed. Some of the people to whom copies of this confidential document had been mailed later became members of the society, and a few of them assumed positions of some responsibility, but even some of these have violently disagreed with Welch's accusations in 1954, and members of the John Birch Society were outraged when they read that they were a bunch of crackpots because these views of Welch had been imputed to them.

At the time the Eighth edition of the *Blue Book* (which is the most recent) was published in 1961, there were 28 people on the headquarters staff at Belmont, 30 paid co-ordinators or supervisors, and about 100 section leaders or minor co-ordinators. During the past two years there have been slightly more than 100 resignations. Two members were expelled — one for anti-semitism, and a few all-negro chapters have been formed. There are also several local chapters consisting of both colored and white members.

The first chapters were founded in February 1959. Thereafter the movement spread rapidly until now there are members throughout the nation, and many members-at-large whose affiliation is recorded only at the headquarters chapter in Massachusetts.

From the inception of the society, Welch was firmly convinced that tough methods would have to be used to combat the menace of communism. He believed that every means would be taken to discredit the organization and to wreck it from within. The statements set forth in the *Blue Book* drive this conception home again and again. Precautions were taken to guard against infiltration, and against the formation of dissident sects. Anyone familiar with the organization and techniques of the Communist Party must immediately note the close similarity between these two implacable enemies. Each has a monolithic structure in which the authority gravitates from the top down through the various echelons to the rank and file membership. Each employs front organizations which it controls from behind the scenes and through which it works. Each operates bookstores and reading rooms through which it spreads its ideology. Each has a staff of full-time employees. The Communists call them organizers; the Birchers call them co-ordinators. Each movement operates through small

units scattered throughout the country. The Communists call them clubs, and Birchers call them chapters. Each publishes a monthly list of directives that establishes the current line of activity. The communists call theirs *Political Affairs*, and the Birchers call theirs the *John Birch Society Bulletin*. Each is geared to unleash a barrage of invective and attack against the other, and to bring to bear every pressure and device available.

There is, of course, this distinction: the Communist Party is directed from abroad, despite its vehement protests to the contrary. It has always been a part of the world Communist drive to dominate every non-Communist country, and it has pursued this objective consistently. It has never managed to insinuate its regime through the process of the ballot box, but always through stealth, subversion or raw force. When captive peoples seek to cast off the Soviet yoke, they are crushed by armed might. This global operation works through the Communist Parties that exist — legally or illegally — in 81 countries. Their propaganda apparatus is synchronized, and their activities are always co-ordinated.

The John Birch Society, convinced that the threat to the continued existence of our way of life is in mortal danger from the advance of communism, both at home and abroad, is dedicated to prevent it. It has no international ramifications, but it has not overlooked that possibility, as the *Blue Book* declares:

"We have already been under considerable pressure to start chapters of the society in several foreign countries. We have authorized some people in some of those countries to use our material simply as a guide, in setting up some similar but entirely separate local organizations. And we might, at some future date, absorb such organizations, if satisfactory in every way, right into the John Birch Society. But so far the sparing of time, energy, or resources, for international organizing efforts or even for a minimum of supervision of such efforts by others, has been out of the question." (*Blue Book*, footnote 18 to 4th printing, February 1961, p. xi.)

The society is completely frank in stating that it has adopted many Communist techniques as its own. It operates to some extent through front organizations, as we have explained, it circulates petitions, it unleashes massive letter writing campaigns, and is currently seeking to bring about the impeachment of the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. It supports conservative legislators and elective officers and it attacks all it believes are furthering the cause of communism — consciously or otherwise.

While the organizational structure is similar to that used by the Communist Party, and some tried techniques of the Communists have been borrowed by the society, there is a vast difference in the matter of disciplinary control. Communists are trained to obey a directive or a party assignment, whether they agree with it or not.

Members of the society are constantly told *not* to follow any program or directive unless they agree with it, as may be seen in many of the monthly bulletins sent to the members. When the policies and actions of the society are no longer supported by a member, he may resign and get a proportional rebate of his annual dues.

Secrecy

The alleged secrecy and conspiratorial atmosphere in which the society is said to operate, coupled with the authoritarian control, have provoked allegations that it is a fascist organization. We found little evidence of secrecy, so far as the conduct of meetings were concerned. David Arnold had no difficulty in penetrating the Birch Society, and, as we have seen, became leader of its secret chapter on the campus of the state university at Santa Barbara, and vice-chairman of its front organization there. The literature of the society may be procured either through one of its bookstores or by writing to the headquarters at Belmont, Massachusetts. Any member may bring his friends to meetings, and anyone may patronize the reading rooms and book outlets.

We experienced no difficulty in sending representatives to meetings of local chapters, nor in obtaining the names of the members. The number of local chapters actively operating in California at the time this report was written was obtained without much trouble, and if there is a secret underground organization connected with the society, its security structure is excellent, as we have endeavored to discover it without success for several years. Aside from the statement made by Chet Merriam to a group of students, we have found no indication whatever of the existence of such an underground.

Caliber of Members

Some of the more irate and immoderate reports on the Birch Society have described its members as schizophrenic, pitiful, irresponsible and crackpot. Others have stated that they were for the most part comprised of retired army officers, old women and wealthy businessmen. Mindful of these allegations, we have tried to ascertain the truth about the sort of person who is attracted to the society. We have done this, not by relying on the declarations of members, but through attending meetings without the knowledge of the society, and by running the background facts concerning those we believe to be average members of the society throughout the state.

We have found the average member to have been concerned about the advances of the world Communist movement and the advances of Communist subversion in this country. The John Birch Society has provided the only organization with a militant program of study and action through which the frustrations of these people can be released. Very few of the members agree with the rash statements of Mr. Welch, but their position is that despite this disagreement, he did

conceive the movement, organize it, instill it with life, provide a national medium through which people can actually do something about the menace of communism. The average member is firmly convinced that the real threat is not essentially from abroad, but that since our foreign policies are evolved here, and as they are influenced here, and since our retreat from one European crises after another has been engineered in Washington, then the problem must be faced in this country.

A situation exists throughout Latin America that becomes more critical each day, the Birchers declare. From a solid base in Cuba Communist agents are being scattered among all the Latin American countries — spreading propaganda against us, softening up the opposition, inciting riots against the United States and its representatives. Jet planes, expert advisers, munitions, arms of all descriptions, and even rocket bases are being rushed to Cuba, the Birchers insist — and all of this desperate situation resulted from bad advice and disastrous decisions made in Washington.

The average member of the society avidly reads reports of all governmental agencies dealing with subversion, studies the books on the approved list on the same subject, reads the literature issued through the society, and is utterly opposed to the United Nations and its subsidiary units such as UNICEF, and UNESCO. These organizations are regarded as no more than convenient centers for the espionage and propaganda actions of the Soviet Union.

As stated earlier, we have found some highly emotional and unstable members — especially in Santa Barbara in the person of Chet Merriam and some of his student following — and to a limited extent in Riverside County. These situations were speedily rectified through the elimination of the members whose actions were incompatible with those of the majority. The meetings attended by our representatives were conducted with restraint and dignity, and the discussions were moderate and objective. We do not agree that massive letter-writing campaigns accomplish much, but everyone has a right to write letters to elected officials, and the Birchers have certainly availed themselves of the privilege by unleashing at least 50 such undertakings that deposit thousands of letters on the target almost overnight.

The Birch actions to throttle Communist activities provoked immediate reaction, and on December 5, 1960, through the Manifesto of 81 Communist Parties, and again through the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the anti-Communist movement in the United States was specifically and unmistakably pointed out as the most important target against which to concentrate communist strength.

On July 29, 1960, Moscow declared:

“The chief ideological and political weapon of imperialism is anti-Communism. Rallied to this black banner today are all the enemies of social progress. Anti-Communism is a reflection of the

extreme decadence of bourgeois ideology." ("The New Drive Against the Anti-Communist Program," Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Internal Security, Washington, D.C., July 11, 1961, p. 33.)

The December 1960 manifesto stated:

"To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-Communism — that poisoned weapon which the *bourgeoisie* uses to fence off the masses from socialism." (*Ibid.*, p. 32.)

In January 1961 the *Manifesto* of the 81 Communist Parties was printed in the official publication of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. So far as the American communists were concerned, this was an order — plain and incontrovertible. It was not lightly printed. It was an implementation of orders from the highest source of the world Communist movement, and it was therefore imperative that the party here do everything in its power to render the Birch Society, the anti-Communist schools, and all of the other rising anti-Communist organizations ineffective. It is, as we have stated, also true that some of Mr. Welch's utterances have provided welcome ammunition not only for the Communists, but also for left groups and prominent spokesmen for the conservative right.

Position of the Communist Party

On July 16, 1961, Gus Hall, head of the American Communist Party, issued a directive for an attack on the anti-Communist forces throughout the country. Published in the *Weekly Worker*, and repeated in all the Communist-controlled propaganda sources, this move has never diminished. As we emphasized before, there are assuredly many other critics who are bitterly anti-Communist, but we are here only concerned with the strictly party attitude toward the Birch Society and all other anti-Communist groups. Hall wrote: "In the opinion of the Communist Party, there can be no question but that the threat from the extreme right is serious." He ascribed the upsurge of activity against the party to the classic Marxist-Leninist dogma that holds it inevitable for a capitalist regime to become desperate when it becomes weak. Desperation and confusion ensue; its people become divided and there will be divisive groups set against each other as the government frantically strives to preserve itself from collapse. This, according to the Communist theoreticians, gives rise to a "revolutionary situation," which they must be ready to use to their advantage.

"One of the obstacles in some parts of the left is a sharply critical or negative attitude to the Communist Party. Some of it is of older social-democratic or Trotskyite origin, but another current is of more recent vintage. This is the product in one way or

another of the intensified campaign by big business against communism, of renewed reactionary attacks, and of the recent crisis in the Communist Party.

"Undoubtedly, the party crisis contributed to a certain disorientation in the left. While I realize this cannot be dismissed with a sweep of the hand, the fact remains that the new reactionary attack opened by the Supreme Court decisions has created a new situation both for the party and for the entire left.

"For example, how can the position now be defended that the Communist Party is no longer needed in the United States? Those on the left who claimed this should think over how it is that the reactionary majority of the Supreme Court, for its own motives and reasons, came to a similar conclusion?

"It seems to me imperative that left and progressive forces should not lose a moment in beginning now to find the common meeting ground, in fraternal discussions, for the united front approach and programs leading to common action for common objectives.

"There should be a coming together of such forces in the ranks of labor, in the Negro rights movement, in the youth movement, among the advocates of peace. The effort should be made wherever possible, in the localities and cities and communities, not waiting for a nationwide development, but contributing to it, building up the movement, giving it a living base on which it can flourish.

"It is my hope that all elements and currents of the left will set such a movement into motion, that in their publications and organizations discussions of this kind should proceed. I am convinced that once this is set in motion, it will grow and spread with a speed and depth that will surprise all of us." (Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party of the United States, *Weekly Worker*, July 16, 1961.)

Now, obviously, one must not fall into the error of lumping all critics of the John Birch Society with this Communist-motivated drive by the old united front technique which we have often described in previous reports. But neither should we be blind to the unified and massive nature of the movement. The Communists have long employed this highly effective technique, most dramatically during the last war, and on numerous occasions with incredible skill and success. They are adept at selecting a particularly offensive phrase, or a susceptible organization and using it indiscriminately against all anti-Communists.

Gus Hall, one of the most defiant and outspoken leaders the party ever had, also expressed himself on the matter of civil liberties. At a press conference shortly following the announcement of the two Supreme Court decisions requiring Communists to register, the following exchange occurred:

"Q. (By a reporter): Do you believe the Bill of Rights should cover the John Birch Society?

"A. (By Hall): No, the John Birch Society is out to destroy the Bill of Rights." (Press conference transcript, *Natl. Rev. Bulletin*, July 8, 1961.)

The feature that distinguishes the Birch Society from other anti-Communist groups is its combination of study and direct action. This provides an outlet for the members, who thus can feel that they are participating in a co-ordinated campaign. As Professor Alan F. Westin put it:

"Unlike those right-fundamentalist groups which have energetic leaders but passive memberships, the Birchers are decidedly activist. 'Get to work or learn to talk Russian,' is a slogan Welch recommends to his followers, and they are certainly hard at work." ("Fundamentalism on the Right," *Commentary*, August 1961, pp. 98-99.)

This sort of implementing of study by direct action is what disturbs Gus Hall and his followers. And if they are reading the monthly Birch bulletins they would see the action develop. In March 1960, 96 additional books were added to the list of 97 that had already been recommended to members of the society, and the great majority of them dealt with various aspects of communism.

As this movement steadily becomes larger it finds itself facing the problems that inevitably beset any organization of national proportions that is sustained on a high degree of emotionalism. As efforts are made to recruit more members, and as more subordinate officers are sent out into the field, there is an increasing probability that among the new members will be a fringe of unstable, chauvinist people who are prone to accept as accurate the most irresponsible charges of Communist activity. This is the sort of person who is quick to accuse an innocent liberal of being a Communist, and of forever damning anyone who was trapped into joining a Communist front group. Some of these members have been making accusations that are impossible to sustain, and as a result have found themselves facing legal actions for libel or slander.

This type of member is, of course, not peculiar to the John Birch Society, and as Birch activities have increased in California so have these irresponsible charges increased — both from Right and Left.

Conclusions

We find the John Birch Society to be a Right, anti-Communist, fundamentalist organization. It was conceived, organized, and is dominated by Mr. Robert Welch, who runs the society with the aid of a National Council and Advisory Committee, whose advice he is not, however, bound to follow. The accusations he made in *The*

Politician in 1954 are shared by few of his followers, but he has since made other declarations that are as irresponsible and insusceptible of proof.

We have not found the society to be either a secret or a fascist organization, nor have we found the great majority of its members in California to be mentally unstable, crackpots, or hysterical about the threat of Communist subversion. As we have stated, there have been instances of imprudent activity and indefensible statements, but such isolated occurrences are not typical of the organization as a whole.

We agree with Prof. Alan Westin, who studied the Birch membership and wrote:

“...the Birch Society has been successful in attracting to it some highly substantial figures in local communities — physicians, stockbrokers, retired military officers, lawyers, business men (particularly small and middle-sized manufacturers in the Midwest and South), and professionals, many of whom have become local chapter leaders and state co-ordinators.” (*Commentary*, op. cit., p. 99)

We found no evidence of anti-Semitism by the society, and again can appropriately quote Prof. Westin, whose opinion is especially significant since he expressed it at a plenary session of the national Community Relations Advisory Council at Washington, D.C. on June 22, 1961:

“Until information is available to indicate differently... Birch Society is not overtly or silently anti-Semitic in its policies and analysis.”

After publishing the Blake series on the Society, the *Los Angeles Times* was deluged with pro- and anti-Birch letters. These moved the editor to consider a question which had bothered him and which has bothered others:

“What really bothers us is the probably justifiable criticism that exists in the minds of many but is manifested by the very few who contact us directly, that concerns the imponderable ‘so you don’t like Birchers’ method, but what better alternative do you offer?’”

We believe that the reason the John Birch Society has attracted so many members is that it simply appeared to them to be the most effective, indeed the only, organization through which they could join in a national movement to learn the truth about the Communist menace and then take some positive concerted action to prevent its spread.

Our investigation and study was requested by the society, which had been publicly charged with being a secret, fascist, subversive, un-American, anti-Semitic organization. We have not found any of these accusations to be supported by the evidence.

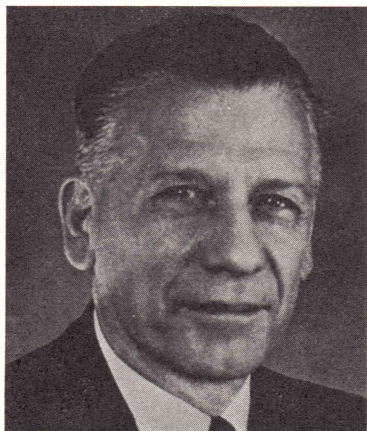
CHAPTER 10

*On the following pages are listed
a few of those important people
who are backing and supporting
the Society as members of the
John Birch Council.*

WILLIAM J. GREDE

(Born Milwaukee, Wisconsin, February 24, 1897)

Occupation: Business Executive.



Studied at University of Wisconsin, received an LL.D., honorary degree from Carroll College; and one as Dr. Bus. Admin. from Northland College.

Started as foundry worker at Decatur, Illinois, 1917-20. With Liberty Foundry, Milwaukee in 1920, and president of it 1923-40, when it became Grede Foundries. Vice President and director, Advance Spring Corporation, Chicago. Member of board Nye Tool Co.; L. J. Mueller Furnace Co.; Moe Light Inc.; 7th Federal Reserve Bank.

Member Milwaukee Better Business Bureau; American Foundrymen's Assn.; Wisconsin Manufacturers Assn.; Gray Iron Research Institute; President National Association of Manufacturers, 1952, and director, 1953. Also member National Council of Y.M.C.A.

ROBERT D. LOVE

(Born Wichita, Kansas, October 20, 1923)

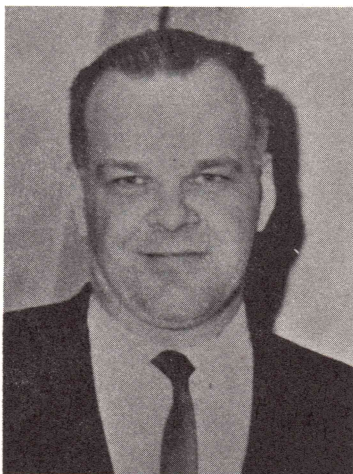
Occupation: Manufacturer.

He attended the University of Kansas, City College of New York, and Virginia Military Institute. Called to active duty spring 1942, went overseas with the 95th Division summer of 1944.

After leaving the Army, Mr. Love entered business—the Love Box Company in Wichita. It now has three plants—Wichita, Oklahoma City, and Lewisburg, Ohio.

Mr. Love is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Metropolitan YMCA of Wichita, a director of the Union National Bank, a director of the National Association of Manufacturers, past director of the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce, a past director of the Wichita Chamber of Commerce and a founder and director of the Kansans for the Right-to-Work. He is the past president of the South Central Economic Development Council.

He is Chairman of the Kansas Forest Industry Committee, and a member of the Board of the American Forest Products Industry. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Salvation Army, a member of the Advisory Council of Saint Joseph Hospital, a Thirty-second Degree KCCH Mason, a member of the Midian Shrine, and a charter member of the Wichita Crime Commission.





NATHANIEL E. ADAMSON, Jr., M.D.

(Born Portsmouth, Virginia, Nov. 15, 1919)

Occupation: Surgeon and Medical Director.

Graduate University of Virginia School of Medicine, Phi Beta Kappa Diplomate, American Board of Surgery; Fellow, American College of Surgeons.

Commander in Medical Corps Reserve, U.S. Navy. Served as Medical Officer in World War II; and as Regimental Surgeon, Fifth Marines, Korean War.

Formerly, surgeon at Lahey Clinic, Boston, Massachusetts. Presently, Associate Medical Director, New England Mutual Life Insurance Company.

WILLIAM BENTON McMILLAN

(Born Chicago, Illinois, June 8, 1901)

Occupation: Business Executive and Manufacturer.

He earned a Master of Engineering degree from Cornell University.

He served as treasurer of the W. McMillan & Sons, 1922-26; a partner of the firm 1926-30. President of Hussman Refrigerator Co. of St. Louis, 1931-60; chairman of the board and chief executive officer from 1932 to date.

Also chairman of Hussman Refrigerator Co. Ltd. of Canada. Chairman and president Duro-Consolidated, Inc. of Menlo Park, California. Director of U.S. Gypsum Co., Chicago; E.L. Bruce Co., Memphis; Magic Chef, Inc.; Mercantile Trust Co.; Wagner Electric Co.; American Investment Co. and A.P. Green Firebrick Co.

Member of the National Association of Manufacturers. Director, United Fund of Greater St. Louis; of Municipal Theater Association of St. Louis. On advisory council of Junior Achievement, Inc. Vice-president, St. Louis Council, Boy Scouts of America. Trustee of the David Ranken Junior School of Mechanical Trades of St. Louis, and also of the Governmental Research Institute.



STILLWELL J. CONNER

(Born New York, September 22, 1910)

Graduate of Northwestern University, College Of Liberal Arts in 1932.

Married to same lady for past twenty-five years — father of five children.

Roman Catholic.

Served as Transportation Officer with The Air Force from 1941 to 1946 in this country and in China, Burma, and India Theatre. Entered service as a Second Lieutenant and was separated as a Lt. Colonel.

President of Modern Sleep Products Company, a furniture manufacturer.

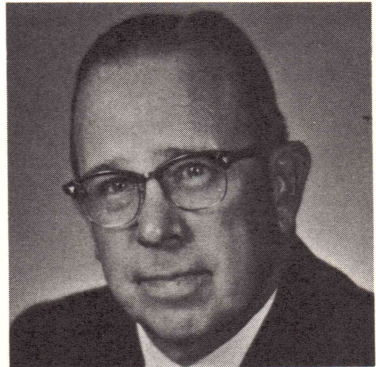
Started first Chapter of John Birch Society in Chicago — proud member of The Council since 1960 — suggested the "Our Council Speaks Program."



J. NELSON SHEPHERD

(Born in Terre Haute, Indiana in 1904)

Graduated from Indiana University in 1927, member of Alpha Tau Omega Fraternity and Delta Sigma Tau Honorary Business Fraternity. Is President (23 years) of Midwest-Beach Co., a Printing and Lithographing firm in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, has served as Director of the National Association of Manufacturers, National Counselor of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Senior Warden and Vestryman of Calvary Cathedral (Episcopal) of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and is a member of the Rotary Club, Elks Club, Minnehaha Country C'ub, Greater South Dakota Association, Newcomen Society, and Y.M.C.A. Board.



ROBERT WARING STODDARD

(Born Trenton, New Jersey, January 22, 1906)



Occupation: Manufacturing and Business executive.

He received a PhD degree from Yale in 1928; did graduate study at Harvard 1919. Awarded honorary D. Eng by Worcester Polytechnical Institute; and an honorary LL.D by Assumption College in 1959.

Became assistant works manager at Wyman & Gordon of Worcester, Massachusetts in 1936, promoted to works manager 1938, made a vice president and director in 1941, executive vice president and director 1951-55, and president and director since that time. Also director with Jones & Lamson Machine Company; Raytheon Company; Crompton & Knowles Corporation; United-Carr Fastener Corporation; Worcester County National Bank; and the First National Bank of Boston.

President and director of Associated Industries of Massachusetts; former vice president and director National Association of Manufacturers;

trustee of the Worcester County Institute of Savings.

Trustee Worcester Polytechnic Institute; chairman Worcester Municipal Airport Commission; director in the Community Chest; director and president of the YMCA; trustee of Hahnemann Hospital; the Art Museum; the Foundation of Experimental Biology; the National History Society; Worcester Academy; and the Massachusetts Foundation.

He is a member of many social and civic clubs and organizations.

T. COLEMAN ANDREWS

(Born Richmond, Virginia, February 19, 1899)

Occupation: Accountant, Insurance company executive.

Attended public schools of Richmond. Became Certified Public Accountant. Founded his own firm in 1922. In 1952 formed management consultant firm of Andrews and Howell in Washington, D.C.

Was auditor of public accounts for Virginia, 1931-33; comptroller and director of finance for City of Richmond, 1938-40; staff director of fiscal division of War Department 1941; contract renegotiation official, Navy Department, 1942; U.S. Marine Corp officer, 1943-45.

Organizer and director of corporation audits division of U.S. General Accounting Office, 1945-47; chairman of auditing and accounting study group of First Hoover Commission, 1948.

Commissioner of the U.S. Internal Revenue Service, Treasury Department, 1953-1955.

Since 1955, President and chairman of board of American Fidelity and Casualty Co.; Fidelity Bankers Life Insurance Corp.; and Variable Stock Fund, Inc.

Former president of American Institute of Certified Public Accountants as well as of Richmond Chamber of Commerce. Member of many professional organizations.

Received Bronze Star Medal for his Marine Corps services; and the Alexander Hamilton Award of the Treasury Department. Also honorary degrees from Pace College, University of Richmond, and University of Michigan, as well as many other honors.

He is an Episcopalian and a Mason. He is an independent Democrat, and as such was a candidate for President of the United States in 1956.



PAUL H. TALBERT

(Born Fort Worth, Texas, January 14, 1901)

Occupation: Insurance executive.

Did undergraduate work at both Texas A&M and Texas Christian University. Moved to California and graduated from Stanford University 1922.

Received Commission in Field Artillery. Remained in Reserve Corps 16 years.

Employed by Hughes Tool Company of California, and became Sales Manager and member of Board in 1926 at age 25.

Went into Insurance business 1932. Organized own firm, Paul H. Talbert Company, 1944 in Beverly Hills, which he still operates.

Helped organize Boys Club of Hollywood in 1940 and has worked with it ever since, once as president, for many years as chairman of the Budget & Finance Committee. Also served for many years with Los Angeles Community Chest, specifically on Budget Committee for Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, and Woodcraft Rangers.

Long time member (and at various times on

board of directors) of Beverly Hills Mens Club, Rotary Club, Chamber of Commerce.

For 10 years on United Republican Finance Committee of Los Angeles County; vice chairman for 8 years. Also Finance Chairman for several State and National Candidates.

LT. GEN. CHARLES BERTODY STONE, III

(Born, Fort McPhearson, Atlanta, Georgia,

March 28, 1904)

Occupation: Officer, U.S.A.F. (retired)

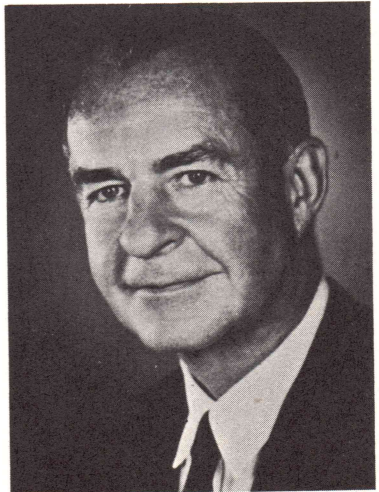
General Stone received his B.S. from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1927. He graduated from the Primary Flying School in 1929, the Advanced Flying School in 1930, Army Technical School in 1932, and the Army Tactical School in 1940.

Beginning as a 2nd Lieutenant in the Army in 1927, he advanced to Major General in 1945—and to Lieutenant General prior to his retirement in 1957.

He served with distinction during World War II, received many decorations including the Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, Distinguished Flying Cross, and Bronze Star as well as medals from other countries.

He was in charge of the Continental Air Command at Mitchel Air Force Base prior to retirement.

Member, Board of Directors, Denison Research Foundation. Chairman of Board and Overseer Harvard College. Catholic.



CLARENCE E. MANION

(Born Henderson, Kentucky, 1895)

Occupation: Attorney, former Dean of Law School.

Received B.A. from St. Mary's College, Kentucky, 1915; M.A. from Catholic University of America, 1916; and a Master of Philosophy from same institution 1917. Awarded J.D. degree by Notre Dame, 1922.

Served in World War I.

Professor of Constitutional Law at Notre Dame for more than 25 years. Dean of its College of Law, 1941 - 1952.

1953 appointed by President Eisenhower as chairman of Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations. Served till 1954.

Has received five different awards from Freedoms Foundations for his speeches and writings on Communism.

Member of American Bar Association's Special Committee to Study Communism Tactics and Objectives.

Author of book, **The Key to Peace**, as well as two texts, **Lessons in Liberty**, and **Air Law**. Since 1955, director of the **Manion Forum**, a weekly radio program, with a network of 270 stations in 42 states.

Member of law firm of Doran and Manion in South Bend, Indiana.



DR. REVILO PENDELTON OLIVER

(Born Texas)

Occupation: University professor.

Studied Pomona College. Ph.D. from University of Illinois. Teacher of Spanish, Italian and Classical Philology at University of Illinois. Widely travelled. Scholar of international reputation. Has been awarded both Guggenheim and Fulbright Fellowships.

During World War II did special research for War Department.

Has published scholarly articles, in four languages, in 12 learned periodicals of the U.S.A. and Europe. A member of 15 learned societies in the U.S.A. and Europe.

Contributor to many other publications, including National Review, Christian Economics, Nation's Business, American Progress, Modern Age, Free Enterprise, and American Opinion.

Well known as lecturer on radio, television, and before civic, educational and patriotic groups. One of relatively few college professors who has been speaking out publicly against Communism.



FREDERICK CHASE KOCH

(Born Quanah, Texas, September 23, 1900)

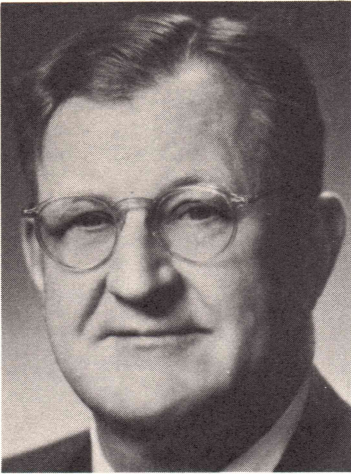
Occupation: Chemical Engineer and Oil Executive.

Graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology with S.B. degree, 1922.

Chemical Engineer, Texas Co., Port Arthur, Texas, 1922-23. Chief Engineer, Medway Oil and Storage Co., Ltd., Kent, England, 1924-25. Vice President Winkler-Koch Engineering Co., Wichita, Kansas, 1925-40. President and Chairman Koch Engineering Co. 1941 to date. President or Director of numerous oil companies, refineries, pipe line companies, banks, etc.

Member, Corporation of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; of Advisory Board of School of Engineering and Architecture, University of Kansas. Member, American Chemical Society; American Institute of Chemical Engineers; American Petroleum Institute.

He has given freely of his time to local, State and National civic organizations.



SPRUILLE BRADEN

(Born Elkhorn, Montana, March 13, 1884)

Occupation: Engineering, Management, and ex-Ambassador.

Graduated as mining engineer for Yale's Sheffield Scientific School 1914. Has several honorary degrees, including Johns Hopkins University and University of Buenos Aires.

Worked at mining and engineering projects 1912-1920. Thereafter organized or reorganized various industrial enterprises thru 1932. Engineer and Acting Manager, Andes Exploration Co. 1914-19. Negotiated contract for electrification of Chilean State Railways, and various other contracts and loans in Chili and Bolivia, 1919-25.

Chairman of Advisory Committee to State Department on Latin American Affairs, 1933. Chairman, Inter-American Arbitration Commission 1934. Chairman U.S. Delegation, with rank of Ambassador, Chaco Peace Conference, Bolivia and Paraguay, 1935-39. U.S. Ambassador to Columbia 1939-42; to Cuba 1942-45; to Argentina 1945. Assistant Secretary of State 1946-47. President, Pan-American Society since 1953, etc. etc.

Braden has received many awards from Latin American countries for his good services on their behalf. Also, Gold Medal for Good Citizenships from Sons of American Revolution; and The Americas Award, 1957.

He has served with distinction on a great many civic committees and organizations. He is a Democrat. He lives in New York City.



FRANK CULLEN BROPHY



(Born Bisbee, Arizona, November 16, 1894)

Graduated Phillips Academy 1912, and Yale 1917.

Was director and executive vice-president Phoenix National Bank and Phoenix Savings Bank and Trust Co., 1923-30. President Phoenix Date Co., 1927-55. Director of Northern Arizona Security Co. of Los Angeles, 1923-27, Director and President Bank of Douglas, 1935-55, and Chairman since that date. Director of Arizona Central Bank of Flagstaff. President of several other business enterprises, including Libbey Fruit Packing Co. Owner-operator of the Babacamori Ranch in Elgin, Texas since 1937.

Founder of Maricopa County Taxpayers Assn. Member Arizona State Fair Commission, 1938-40. Chairman Arizona Racing Commission, 1949-53. Chairman Arizona Semi-Centennial Commission, 1960. Director of American Institute for Foreign Trade, 1946-55.

Member of advisory board of FOR AMERICA, 1955, and National Board of Campaign for 48 States, 1956.

Brophy has contributed articles to *The Catholic World* and the magazine *Commonwealth*. He is also the author of numerous historical sketches.

A. G. HEINSOHN

(Born Palestine, Texas, 1896)

Occupation: Textile Manufacturer.

Active in sports while still a boy, he served as a boys' camp councilor during summer vacations. He captained his high school football and ice hockey teams.

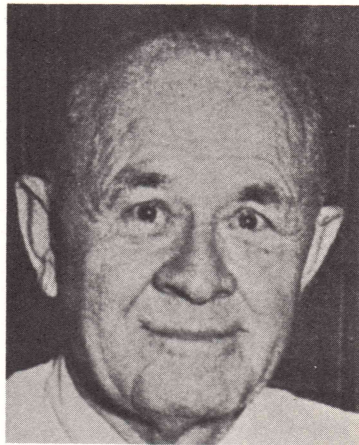
He entered Princeton University in 1916, but when President Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war against Germany in April 1917, Heinsohn left school and enlisted in the Air Service. He served overseas with the 95th Aero Squadron, 1st Pursuit Group.

After the war he took a job as sample boy with a New York firm so he could learn the selling end of the cotton textile business.

He served as a junior executive with McCampbell & Company for several years. In 1934 he was asked to manage the Cherokee Spinning Company at Knoxville, Tennessee. He has made Knoxville his home ever since.

A few years later he was asked to take over the presidency of the Spindale Mills, Spindale, North Carolina. He combined both plants; opened a sales office in New York City. A few years ago he moved his Knoxville plant to Sevierville, Tennessee. The new plant of the Cherokee Textile Mills are probably the most up-to-date cotton mill facilities in the whole country today.

Heinsohn has long been active in local and State civic enterprises. He is also the author of a book, *One Man's Fight for Freedom*.



MARVIN THEOPHELUS PHELPS

(Born Dunlap, Tennessee, October 9, 1880)

Occupation: Judge.

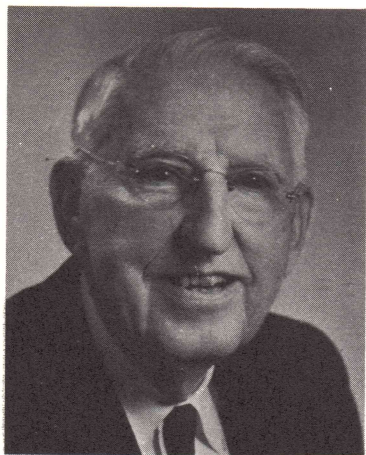
Attended Emory and Henry College, Virginia, 1905-6. Received LLB from Vanderbilt University, 1912.

Admitted to Arizona Bar, 1913, and practiced law in Phoenix 1913-23, when he was appointed a judge of the Superior Court, where served, 1923-49. He was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court of Arizona in 1949, and became chief justice in 1954.

He is a member of the American, the Arizona, and the Maricopa Bar Associations. Also member of the Conference of Chief Justices of the State Supreme Courts of the U.S. A member of Phi Alpha Delta (honorary) fraternity.

He has been a member of the Awards Jury of the Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge since 1954. He is member of the Board of Governors of the Salvation Army.

Judge Phelps is a Methodist, and a member of the Loyal Order of Moose.



NORMAN FLOYD MCGOWAN

(Born Brewton, Alabama, March 15, 1900)

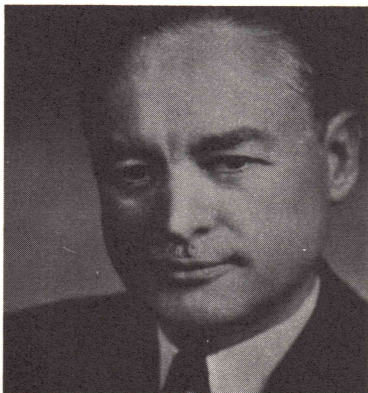
Occupation: Business Executive.

Received his Bachelor of Science degree at University of Alabama, 1920. Did graduate study at Columbia University 1921, and at Oxford University 1923.

McGowan has been with the W.T. Smith Lumber Co. since 1924. He has been its president and a director since 1934. He is a Trustee of the Southern Research Institute; and president of the National Lumber Manufacturers Association.

He is a director of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad; of the Birmingham Fire and Casualty Company; and of the Merchants National Bank of Mobile, Alabama.

He has given much time to State and civic problems and community affairs in general.



SLOBODAN M. DRASKOVICH

(Born Belgrade, Yugoslavia, 1910)

Occupation: editor and lecturer.



Draskovich received his law degree from the University of Belgrade. Later he received his doctorate in economics from the University of Munich.

He served as professor at the University of Belgrade for a number of years until 1941. Captured by the Germans, he spent the next four years in POW camps.

He came to the United States in 1947. He is at present editor of a weekly Serbian newspaper published in Chicago. He has lectured widely, and is the author of a number of books and articles. His latest book, and exposure of the communist robot-Tito of Yugoslavia — has been well received as a careful analytical study of Tito and his regime.

FRANCIS GANO CHANCE

(Born Centralia, Missouri, February 14, 1905)

Occupation: Chemical Engineer and Business Executive.

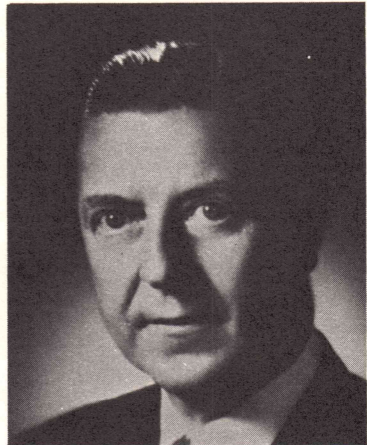
Attended Centralia College. Graduated from University of Missouri in 1919 with degrees as a Bachelor of Arts and a Bachelor of Science in Chemical Engineering.

Chance was vice president and assistant general manager of the A.B. Chance Company in Centralia, 1931; president, 1939-60; and chairman of the board since 1949.

Was board member of the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, and its vice president 1958-59. President of Missouri Chamber of Commerce 1943-44, and a director to date. Member of Associated Industries of Missouri, and its President 1954-56. Member of board of Southern States Industrial Council since 1957. Board member National Association of Manufacturers 1953-60. Member of U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Vice-president since 1954 of Engineering Alumni Association of the University of Missouri. Trustee of the Chance Foundation.

Member of many civic and service clubs and organization. Member Christian Church Clubs. Also member Alpha Chi Sigma and Alpha Tau Omega.



LOUIS RUTHENBERG

(Born Louisville, Kentucky, March 20, 1888)

Occupation: Manufacturing executive.

Attended Purdue University 1905-7. Received honorary degrees, M.E., Detroit University 1919; D.E., Purdue, 1947; and D.H., Evansville College, 1951.

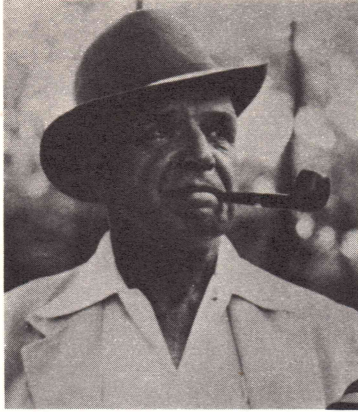
Manager of E. C. Walker Manufacturing Co., Louisville, 1907-9. Engineering work at London, England, 1909-10. Chief engineer and superintendent, electric vehicle division, Kentucky Wagon Works, 1910-12. With Dayton Engineering Laboratories 1912-1922. Manager Yellow Sleeve Valve Engine Company, 1922-27. Vice president and assistant general manager of General Motors Trucks Company, 1927-29. President of Copeland Products, Inc., 1929-1932. President of Eervel, Inc., 1934-49; and president of its board, 1949-59.

Director of the St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank,

1945-56. President Gas Appliance Manufacturers Association, 1950; president Indiana Chamber of Commerce, 1941-42. Member Evansville Chamber of Commerce.

Trustee of Purdue University, 1942-45; director for 4-H clubs, 1942-49; Chairman for Industry and Commerce, and for Economic Development in Freedoms Foundations, 1943-46. Has received 3 Freedoms Foundation awards.

Member of various civic and service organizations.



ROBERT HUMPHREY MONTGOMERY

(Born Oxford, Ohio, March 16, 1889)

Occupation: Attorney.

Montgomery received his B.A. at the University of North Dakota 1909; his LL.B. at Harvard, 1912, and an honorary LL.D. from Tufts, 1952.

He was admitted to the Massachusetts Bar in 1912. He became a member of the firm of Powers & Hall in 1916, with headquarters in Boston. The firm name was changed many years ago to Powers, Hall, Montgomery and Weston.

Montgomery was director, clerk and general counsel for the American Woolen Company, 1932-54; general counsel for the Northeast Telephone and Telegraph Co. 1944-1954. He has served as a director for the above company, as well as for the Northeastern Electrical System, the Standard Publishing Company; and Leseells and Associates.

He is a trustee and treasurer of the Theodore E. Parker Foundation; trustee of the Northeast Deaconess Hospital; and a Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists. He is a member of the Massachusetts Society of Cincinnati; Massachusetts Sons of the American Revolution; the Society of Colonial Wars, the Boston Society.

He belongs to the American, Massachusetts, Middlesex, and Boston Bar Associations; and is a member of the American Law Institute. His is also a member of many more scholastic, fraternal, civic and charitable organization.

He is a Republican.

Montgomery authored in 1960 a book on the famous Massachusetts trial of two Italian anarchists. Its title; **Sacco-Vanzetti: The Murder and the Myth.**



RALPH E. DAVIS

(Born Akron, Ohio)

Occupation: Security Company Manager.



Studied Money and Banking, University of Minnesota. Member U.S. Marine Corps, World War I. Wounded in action. Spent first 20 years of business life in Investment Banking business. Was director and vice-president of Edgerton, Riley & Walter; also of Bingham Walter & Co.

1939 elected California State Commandant of Marine Corps League. 1940 organized the Ex-Marine Guards to provide jobs for them. Name changed to General Plant Protection Company and handles all phases of industrial security in California and Hawaii.

1962 company merged with The Wackenhut Corporation, a larger industrial security company with offices in Eastern U.S. as well as London and Puerto Rico. Davis is a Director in charge of Western region.

Member L.A. Rotary. Director, National Economic Council. Mason.

TOM ANDERSON

(Born Nashville, Tennessee, November 7, 1911)

Occupation: Agricultural Magazine Editor and Publisher.

Graduate Vanderbilt University.

Served as Naval Officer, overseas, during World War II.

Entered agricultural journalism 1942. Is President, Editor-in-chief of **Farm and Ranch** magazine. Also owns and publishes, **Arkansas Farmer**, **Alabama Farmer**, **Georgia Farmer**, **Louisiana Farmer**, **Mississippi Farmer**, **The Sunbelt Dairyman**, and **The Sunbelt Hog Farmer** magazines.

His "Straight Talk" editorials widely used by many radio stations, newspapers and magazines. Has twice received Liberty Award of the Congress of Freedom. Nationally known as a speaker.

Past president American Agricultural Editors Association. Member National Council, Boy Scouts of America. Director-at-large of We, The People. Southern Methodist.



COL. LAWRENCE E. BUNKER

Occupation: Lawyer and Trustee.

Received AB Degree, Harvard, 1926, BA Degree, 1928, MA 1950 Trinity College, Cambridge University. LLB 1938 New York Law School, Member of Bar, New York State and Massachusetts.

Entered World War II as Colonel in 1942, served in Australia, New Guinea, Philippines and Japan. Personal Aide to General of the Army, Douglas MacArthur, six and one-half years.



THE CHOICE IS YOURS

Is the evidence I have herein assembled meaningful to you?

Do you wonder at — and perhaps question — the political judgment of the many men in high places who have permitted themselves to become bellwethers in the smear campaign against the John Birch Society and its individual members?

Are you concerned as to how many of the well-known non- communist public figures who smeared and libeled the good names of John Birch members have subsequently repudiated these rash and untrue statements? For my part, I'm still waiting for the first one to make a public confession of his errors.

In a society, such as ours, the point of view of any man, of any organization, is open to public scrutiny, to debate, to criticism. In the heat of argument we take it for granted that exaggerated statements, both pro and con, and bound to occur. But most of us reject any kind of a campaign of vilification.

Some of us, at least, have learned to look for the cloven hoof of Communism when such campaigns become nation-wide. This is especially true when we find, again and again, the same names of dupes and dopes, of Communist fellow-travellers and stooges issuing statements, heading organizations, writing letters to the press, denouncing the same men and organizations the Communist denounce; endorsing the commending the men and organizations the Communists endorse.

If we Americans believe in fair play — and most of us do — then I think it time to call a halt to the Kangaroo Court tactics used against the Birchers, no matter how much we may disagree with them. Let's not permit ourselves to be stampeded in going back to the law of the jungle.

The material in this small book is but a fraction of what could be assembled. But there is enough, I believe, so that you, the reader, can come to an intelligent decision.

The Choice is Yours!

This Wild West By Lucius Beebe

Martyrs' Blood, Birchers' Seed

IF I WERE one of what the English so grandly term "the press lords" of the American scene, especially in California, not one of the hired hands, but one of the owners, publishers and editorial directors who determine policies and give the orders that unleash the thunderbolts, I would take a long, hard and perhaps educational look at something called the John Birch Society.

Were I one of these highly placed folk, all of whom are fairly well indoctrinated in the belief that they wield vast power and are instrumental in shaping the destinies of nations, I think I would come away from such an enquiry with a somewhat less exalted notion of my own dread power and infallibility of authority.

This would be the occasion for my humility.

No group or organization in the history of American politics or public life has been subjected to such a prolonged, concerted, malicious, mendacious, determined and hysterical smear at the hands of supposedly responsible publicists as the John Birch Society. The smear originated in the writings of an editorial malcontent in Santa Barbara and spread rapidly in the belief that here was a minority group so microscopic and without influence that it could be villified into oblivion with no risk at all to anyone concerned.

No two-bit columnist, no sick-joke night club wit, no time serving political jefé at the public hog-trough, especially in Sacramento, no editorial pundit armed with the educated language of disciplined distortion and misrepresentation, no professional peepul's friend with his hand in the peepul's pocket, no maggot intelligence of the college campus, no rancid liberal in the rag-bag ranks of the peace marchers, but hastened with banshee screams to gang up on the Birchers.

★ ★ ★

THEY WERE SUBJECTED alike to the fearful frownings of disfavor of the lowest elements of skid road and the supposedly most responsible editorial minds of the daily press and other communications media. Nobody but took a fast swipe at the defenseless Birchers.

Nobody, that is, but a large and apparently ever growing segment of public opinion which is gathered to the Birchers' ways of thinking, if not their factual ranks of enrollment, with every fresh barrage of dead cats from the gloomy mandarins of the press and radio. Numbers of people began to see in the alleged subversion attributed to the Birchers what used, once in the almost forgotten past, to be known as plain American patriotism.

I do not propose to discuss the merits of the fundamental credo of the John Birch Society. I am not familiar with its tenets except that it has clamored for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren, a sentiment warmly shared by a formidable

number of Americans who never heard of Dr. Robert Welch.

I am given to understand, too, that the more militant Birchers have had the audacity to make snoot faces at the godlike image of former President Eisenhower which, in the current American scheme of things, is tantamount to spitting on the flag or sneering at mother, but may well be revised in the long hindsight of history.

Granted the Birchers have been off bounds and often preposterous. But does anybody in his right mind believe them to be more preposterous than some of the capers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People? Or the American Civil Liberties Union, a confraternity of Moscow-inspired shy-sters which might, for the immeasurable benefit of society in general, be liquidated? With flame throwers.

★ ★ ★

NOW, IT IS APPARENT from the screams of terror in the public prints and outrage from the public mendicants holding elective office, in California especially, that the Birchers are multiplying like Connecticut river shad and growing daily in solid political importance.

It is safe to say that as their numbers increase and their authority waxes, virtues will begin to appear in the John Birch Society that have not previously been perceived. As long as their numbers were microscopic they could be kicked around with impunity, but Governor Brown has never been known to view as completely evil any group in excess of three persons enrolled as California voters.

Nor is any newspaper publisher or radio station owner who hopes to be in business next year going out of his way to alienate a ponderable and apparently growing potential for circulation and the purchase of the merchandise and services they advertise.

This is no brief for the John Birch Society, merely an educated guess that their status in the community is going to be subject to a sharp revision upwards having its origins in the business offices of a number of newspapers, radio stations and department stores which take a dim view of bankruptcy.

This department itself is not a joiner of anything and is of the firm belief that any five persons gathered together for any purpose whatsoever more urgent than a floating crap game are a mob and should be dispersed with fire hoses.

There is an ancient proverb stemming, I think, from the days of the religious wars of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: "Martyrs' Blood, Church's Seed." Its validity has never been more explicitly affirmed than in the reaction to the calculated universal smear accorded the John Birch Society.



AL. J. MAC DONALD
The Author
of
KANGAROO COURT
versus
the
JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY



(Born Malden, Massachusetts, November 6, 1910, and educated there.)

Upon coming of age, Mr. MacDonald first worked as a real estate broker. He soon realized that his major interests were in public and industrial relations, and above all, in politics, so he has devoted the past 30 years to these fields. He has worked as an industrial consultant on both the East and West coasts for many companies, both small and large. He has devoted many years of time and effort to the job of either professional political consultant or fund raiser for political parties and candidates in Massachusetts, New York and California over the past 20 years.

He was retained by Joseph P. Kennedy as Industrial Liaison with Massachusetts industry in behalf of his son who at that time was running for the United States Senate against Henry Cabot Lodge. Subsequently he worked in the Presidential campaign in 1960 as Fund raiser and field representative.

MacDonald was field representative for the late Senator Estes Kefauver. He did professional political work in several of the New York City Mayoralty campaigns. After coming to California, he did campaign and fund raising work for Governor Pat Brown, State Senator Richard Richards and many other politicians in the limelight today.

"From my experience in these positions" said Mr. MacDonald, "I was able to understand what goes on behind the ballot box, as well as to appreciate the diabolical cunning of political propaganda. Above all, I saw the communist machine, both open and under cover, at work all over the country during the past two decades. My position gave me the opportunity to work closely with former under-cover agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who knew the real score on the subversives in our midst."

"I believe in fair play — and it was the failure of so many politicians, newspaperman, news commentators and others to be fair in their reporting on the men and women who had joined the John Birch Society, which led me to write this book.

"It is not a defense of the John Birch Society. It is, however, a defense of the basic rights of all Americans to organize, to speak, to publish, and to register their opinions, no matter what they be — so long as they do not seek the overthrow of our form of government."

"I just could not understand why politicians, writers, and others in the public eye, failed to understand that by endorsing, repeating, and in some cases even exaggerating the smears and libels being heaped upon the members of the John Birch Society, that they themselves were being used by identified conspirators (within or without the ranks of their own organizations) to undercut and undermine our way of life.

"That is why I wrote this book. I hope it will do some good."

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alert American will want to read.**

THE KENNEDYS AS I KNEW THEM

(In Business — In Politics — In Their Private Lives)

by

AL. J. MAC DONALD

Mr. Mac Donald has known, and worked with and for the Kennedys covering a period of almost two decades. He worked for them as political consultant, as field representative, and as fund raiser not only in Massachusetts, but all over the United States.

It should be remembered that former Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy, the father of President John F. Kennedy, U.S. Attorney-General Robert Kennedy, and U.S. Senator Ted Kennedy, was himself a big wheel in State and National Democratic politics dating back to the 1920s. He built up a powerful and smoothly operating organization and publicity set-up, which his sons inherited and expanded.

Because of this set-up and control, there are many questions being asked by rank and file voters about the Kennedys which have never been answered, such as:

WHO ARE THEIR CLOSE RELATIVES? WHAT DO THEY DO?

WHAT IS THE PRESIDENT LIKE — OFF THE RECORD — AND OFF CAMERA?

HOW WOULD MRS. JOHN KENNEDY BE DESCRIBED IF SHE WERE MRS. JOHN JONES INSTEAD OF THE FIRST LADY OF THE LAND?

ARE THE PEOPLE SURROUNDING THE KENNEDYS LOYAL TO THEM? AND ARE THE KENNEDYS LOYAL TO THOSE WHO WORK FOR THEM?

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Watch for press releases on this important book.

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versus
THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

by

A. J. MacDonald

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Here, for the first time, are biographical sketches and photos of the leaders behind the smear campaign as well as of the leaders of the John Birch Society.

This is *not* a defense of the John Birch Society. It *is* a defense of the right of loyal Americans to write, to speak, to organize, and to use their influence to expose and destroy the international communist conspiracy in our midst.

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